Turkish return migration from Western Europe

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Publication date:
2015

Document Version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

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Going home from home

PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan Tilburg University
op gezag van de rector magnificus,
prof. dr. E.H.L. Aarts,
in het openbaar te verdedigen ten overstaan van een
door het college voor promoties aangewezen commissie
in de aula van de Universiteit

op donderdag 10 december 2014 om 16.15 uur

door

Filiz Künüroğlu
geboren op 16 december 1979 te Manisa, Turkey

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prof. dr. Jan Pieter van Oudenhoven

♥ For my family ♥

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Acknowledgements

The period of Phd has been one of the most enriching phases in my life. I have been extremely fortunate to have great advisors, colleagues and friends who stimulated my thinking, inspired my writing and above all provided continuous support and generous assistance. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to all those who accompanied me during this period of my life.

First of all, I would like to thank my advisors Prof. Kutlay Yağmur, Prof. Fons van de Vijver, and Prof. Sjaak Kroon for their support, guidance and supervision throughout the years of my PhD. This dissertation would not have been possible without the help of any of my supervisors. This dissertation has been undoubtedly realized thanks to, first of all, Prof. Kutlay Yağmur, my main supervisor. He has been a constant source of encouragement, enthusiasm, and support. I owe my warmest gratitude for his valuable feedback, comments and suggestions that have shaped my research and made it possible to develop into a complete thesis. He has inspired me to become an independent researcher and helped me realize the power of critical reasoning. Kutlay *hocam*, your supervision went beyond the duties of a 'regular' supervisor: beyond professional guidance, you always provided me guidance in the personal matters, which truly helped me to be and stay confident. I greatly profited from the trust you put in me and my work, especially at the times I panicked and stressed. I enjoyed the luxury of starting each day at work with a 'good morning' in my native language, and having academic as well as intellectual discussions where I felt enlightened. I will always be inspired by your stance in life, motivation to create a better world, your faith and inner strength. Thank you very much for your significant contribution to my career. I would also like to express my deepest gratitude to my second supervisor, Prof. Fons van de Vijver. I will always be inspired by his example of engagement with a subject, the breadth of his knowledge and scholarship, the quality of his research and above all, his modesty and integrity. I will always try to understand how it is possible to be that busy and at the same time that available, approachable and responsive

(honestly, I am not sure if I can find it out one day). Dear Fons, I feel privileged for having been your student, for having worked with you, and for having learned so much from you. I deeply appreciate the time, energy, and endless feedback that you devoted to me. Finally, I would like to thank Prof. Sjaak Kroon, my third supervisor, and promotor, who has inspired me with his approach to problems, attention to details, and a demand for perfections as a researcher and director. For me, he was and remains one of the best role models as a mentor and director, with his readiness to support when needed, direct and friendly attitude and great sense of humor. Dear Sjaak, you made me feel like a part of a big family from my very first day at the university. Without your guidance and persistent help, this dissertation would not have been possible. I will be grateful forever.

I gratefully acknowledge my committee members Prof. Jan Pieter van Oudenhoven, Prof. Mehmet-Ali Akıncı, Prof. Ad Backus, Dr. Derya Güngör, and Dr. Micheal Bender for taking part in the last phase of the project, for their invaluable feedback, insightful comments, knowledge and suggestions on the preliminary version of the thesis.

I am grateful to those who participated in my research, 'my participants', I genuinely thank you for accompanying me in this journey and allowing me to enter your own. My deepest thanks and most heartfelt gratitude go to the 'return migrants', who shared their experiences and deep reflections with me, their generosity of time, heart, mind and soul.

I owe infinite gratitude to Carine, who has generously offered not only prompt support and assistance but also kind care and emotional support all through my PhD life. She also did such a meticulous job on the layout of my thesis. Carine, I cannot find words to express my gratitude; thank you very very much!

My work has benefited from several enriching experiences of an interdisciplinary academic dialogue and the stimulating and fruitful discussions of my research with many colleagues who generously offered constructive guidance and critical observations. Warm atmosphere at the university turned almost all the colleagues into friends in a very short time. Starting from my first day in Tilburg, I was very lucky to have people around who made me feel like I am home. Piia, Paul, Tom, Velichko, Arzu, Ozgur, Pelin, Derya, Cemil, Bilge, thank you very much for your generous support, and genuine friendship. Isa, Jamis, Byron, and Serkan, there is one thing I know for sure: I would have enjoyed the last year of my PhD much less, if you were not there. You have generously offered me your support, assistance and genuine friendship. I will gladly remember our coffee and lunch breaks, our trips, joyful conversations

and of course endless teasings. Claudia, my soul-sister, thank you very much for your unconditional help, love, patience and support; you will always be in my heart.

Selda and Ortwin, I owe infinite gratitude for your most generous hospitality, genuine friendship, constant support, and of course for great parties and all the delicious food. Irem, having so much in common and clicking from the first time we met, I feel that it would have been be a very big loss if I had returned before meeting you. Thank you for joining the last phase of my PhD life, making it even more enjoyable and just being there whenever I needed. Ruslan, my dearest brother in Tilburg, and Asime, my sister in Breda, I am grateful to you for always being there whenever I needed, going through hard times together and celebrating each accomplishment together.

Special thanks go to Filiz (Rizaoglu) ☺ for her invaluable friendship and constant support throughout my PD life. She often acted like a life ring, sending me tons of books and articles from the rich library of her university even though she has been a busy and stressed PhD researcher herself. Dear Filiz, thank you for being such a great, patient, understanding and helpful friend.

I cannot forget friends like Sinan and Esra who generously offered their help and support even from a long distance. Dear Esra, I owe you my deepest gratitude for your big heart, great skills and designing the front cover of my first book. You are a very beautiful family!

My lovely cousins, Sedef, Esra, and Pelin, who criticized me always for being too academic and boring. ☺ Thank you very much for being a constant source of fun, excitement and emotional support and showing me that another type of life is possible.

Next, very very special thanks go to my friends back at home who always make me feel that I am not alone in any spot in the world. I believe I am one of the most fortunate people in the world to have such wonderful friends. I am indebted to Ayla (with her little big parts Ekin and Nehir), Ebru, and Sebnem, who have stood by me all this time, during all the journeys, ups and downs, the joys and traumas. Honestly say that you all mean so much to me, and you have shaped my personal and research journey in such significant ways. You are in my heart.

Lastly, there is no one who deserves more gratitude than my parents and brother. I am grateful for all your emotional support, and love. Thank you for believing in me, respecting and tolerating my dreams, decisions and life choices.

Canım ailem, bana her zaman inandığınız, güvendiğiniz ve güç verdiğiniz için size ne kadar teşekkür etsem azdır. İyi ki varsınız, iyi ki benim ailemsiniz.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

"Migration is a one way trip, there is no 'home' to go back to" (Hall, 1987, p. 44). In this citation, Stuart Hall famously points to the complicated situation and the perplexity of international migrants who experience a sense of loss and displacement due to their migration experience.

According to the report of the United Nations Population Division (UNPD, 2013), in 2013 there were 232 million international migrants living in the world, that is 3.2% of the world's population, which means that approximately one out of 31 people is an international migrant. The act of leaving one's own country and settling in another country has immediate and long term implications for both immigrants and members of immigrant receiving countries (Dovidio & Esses, 2001). The same applies to sender countries and the members of sender countries; that is, migration has also long term and immediate effects for sending countries as well.

Whereas the migration process, in particular the causes and consequences of migration as well as the intergroup relations in migration contexts have been widely studied and richly documented in the literature, there has been far less research in return migration and little interest in developing psychological models dealing with return migration. The starting point of this thesis was my curiosity regarding questions such as: After spending a large share of their life in another country, what makes people move back to their country of origin? Does the answer lie in the motivation for migration or is it a new start? What happens afterwards? Do returnees adapt easily and enjoy home or do they have struggles? Do compatriots welcome them or are there issues in the interaction with the mainstreamers? My way to find out was simply to ask those who returned and those who are in interaction with return migrants.

I collected data, analyzed the findings and tried to make sense out of them. What I found is summarized in the quote of Schütz (1945, p. 370): "Home

means one thing to the man who has never left, another thing to the man who dwells far from it, and still another to the man who returns."

1.2 Return migration

Return migration, a constant possibility underlying the life experience of migrants, has started to gain close academic interest only in recent years (De Bree, Davids & De Haas, 2010; Neto, 2012; Sussman, 2010). Return migration has been examined and defined from different perspectives by various disciplines. However, as the focus of the present dissertation is voluntary return where the decision is taken by the immigrants themselves, I opt for the definition of Dustman and Weiss (2007, p. 238) of return migration as "a situation where the migrants return to their country of origin, by their own will, after a significant period of time abroad." I extend this definition to also include the children and grandchildren of labor migrants so as to include the large stream of second-generation returnees who often remigrate with their children as they return after having established a family in the country of migration. Some researchers are careful in applying the notion of 'return' when the second and subsequent generations are involved and use the word 'return' often with inverted commas to show the complication of the process where migrants are in fact moving to the country of origin of their parents (see, e.g., King & Christou, 2011). For practicality purposes, in this dissertation 'return' invariably refers to moving from Western Europe to Turkey. In addition, in a remigration context, there is some arbitrariness about what is meant with terms like home and the host country. For practical purposes, in this study 'home country' always refers to Turkey and 'host country' always refers to the context of the Western European country of arrival.

It has been put forward and illustrated in earlier publications that return is not merely 'going home' and reintegration is not merely adjusting back to the old life (Koser & Black, 1999; Martin, 1984). It is a multifaceted phenomenon with multilayered dimensions and core issues from the viewpoint of home and host country members. First of all, there is still insufficient insight into the factors that facilitate migrants' decision to return. Besides, there is only a vague understanding of the post-stage of the return migration process from the perspectives of different generations. Further, scholarly attention has hardly been directed to the attitudes of home country citizens towards return migrants. To address this gap in the literature, this dissertation sets out to address the motives for and consequences of return migration as well as the perceptions of home country citizens towards return migrants.

Different conceptual approaches give different answers to the question why return migration takes place. While the economics perspective emphasizes financial success or failure of the migration process (Stark, 1991; Todaro, 1969), a structuralist perspective does not see return as a mere influence of the migration experience of the individual in the host country and highlights the influence of the local context on the return decision (Gmelch, 1980). Transnationalism on the other hand emphasizes the importance of the social and economic links with the home country but does not define return as an end point of the migration cycle (Schiller et al., 1992; Somerville, 2008). The social network theory highlights the prominence of the social network in the return decision. Further, Cassorino (2004) proposes the concept of resource mobilization according to which migrants base their return on tangible resources like savings or intangible resources like education, skills and their social network.

The psychological line of research is more interested in the individual level of changes, that is, what happens to individuals who are developed in one culture when they attempt to move to another cultural context (Berry, 1997). This psychological perspective contributed to developing the construct of acculturation, which will be explained in the following section.

1.3 From acculturation to reacculturation

People who leave their country of origin with various motivations such as improving their standard of living, giving their children better opportunities or escaping from poverty often make a very difficult decision as it mostly means leaving behind their friends, family members and the culture they are used to. This step is usually followed by an acculturation process which can be defined as "the process of cultural change that occurs when individuals from different cultural backgrounds come into prolonged, continuous, first-hand contact with each other" (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936, p. 149). Although the change is experienced by both, the minority and majority group, the minority group is most affected. A key model explaining the process of immigration is Berry's (1997) *acculturation model*, which suggests that the migrant faces two issues upon migration: maintaining the home culture and adapting to the host culture. Berry's model describes four ways to combine the two cultures: integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization. In the integration strategy, the migrant maintains certain features of the home culture and adopts the new culture as well. However, in assimilation the migrant no longer desires to maintain the home culture, which leads to loss of the culture of origin. In separation, the migrant rejects the host culture while maintaining the features of

the home culture. Finally, marginalization reflects the full rejection of both cultures. According to the model, the highest level of acculturative stress is observed where there is only a limited supportive network (i.e., marginalization) and the lowest level of stress is experienced when the migrant manages to combine the key aspects of both cultures (i.e., integration).

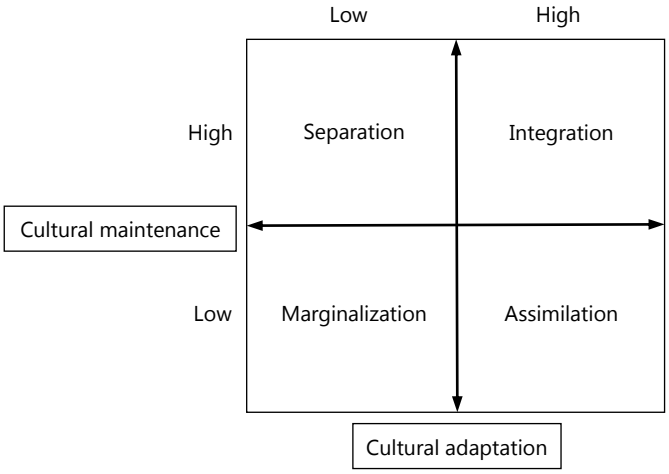

Figure 1.1 Berry's bidimensional acculturation model (from Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2006a, p. 32)

Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2006) proposed an acculturation framework encompassing acculturation conditions, acculturation orientations and acculturation outcomes. In this framework, cultural maintenance and cultural adoption, as the two dimensions of the acculturation orientation are placed at the intersection of acculturation conditions and acculturation outcomes. Acculturation conditions refer to characteristics of the receiving society, characteristic of the society of origin, characteristic of the immigrant group and personal characteristics. These conditions are said to affect the acculturation outcomes of the immigrants, which in turn influence the acculturation outcomes, encompassing psychological wellbeing and socio-cultural competence both in the ethnic and the host culture.

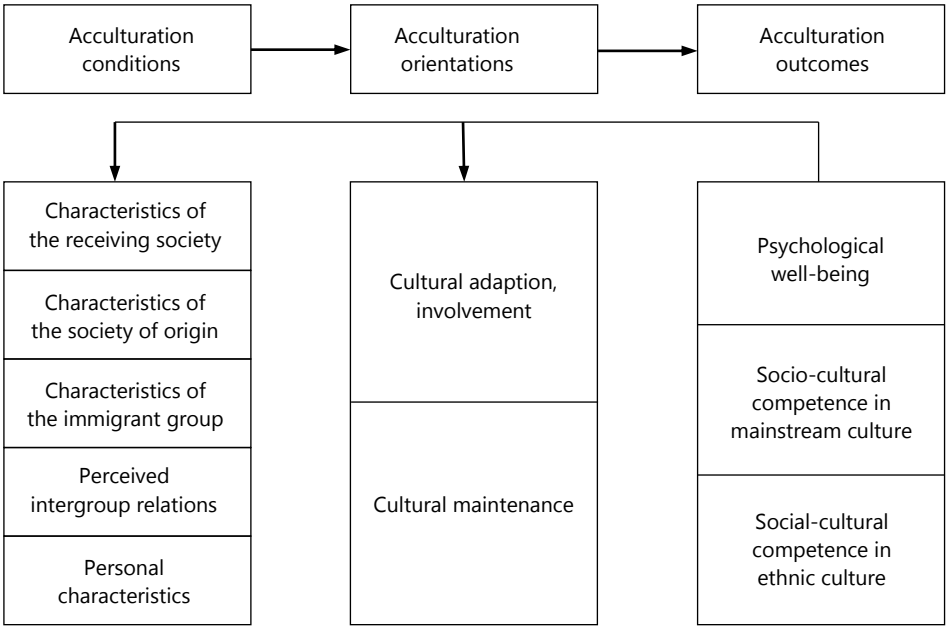

Figure 1.2. Framework of acculturation (from Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2006b, p. 143)

When migrants decide to return to their homeland for whatever reason, another process of integration, reacculturation starts for them (Donà & Ackermann, 2006). Reacculturation refers to the process of readjustment to one's own or one's ancestors' culture after having lived in another culture for a certain amount of time. Sussman (2000) proposes a more comprehensive theoretical model, which she claims to be better than Berry's understanding of reacculturation. This so-called Cultural Identity Model proposes that the four different (subtractive, additive, affirmative, and intercultural) strategies it distinguishes, will cause different identity shifts in returnees and in turn affect the level of stress in the return process. Identity shifts result from cross-cultural transitions where individual become more similar to or different from host culture and become salient upon returning home. The experiences of *subtractive* and *additive* identity shifts are caused by obscured pre-immigration cultural identities, which become salient just after migration. Sussman (2000) states that these shifts are being triggered by the recognition of the discrepancies between the home and host cultures. Both identity shifts are characterized by relatively high levels of stress upon return; however, while *subtractive* identity shifters tend to search for opportunities to interact with other return migrants after repatriation, *additive* identity shifters might search for opportunities to interact

with members of the previous host culture after return. For *affirmative* identity shifters, the home culture identity is maintained and strengthened during the migration experience as the discrepancies between the home and host culture are largely ignored and therefore less stress is experienced upon reentry as the home cultural identity is less disturbed. Finally, *intercultural* identity shifters hold and manage many cultural identities simultaneously and therefore experience a very smooth return process. They search for interactions and develop friendships with members representing different cultures and might take part in a wide range of international entertainments after return.

1.4 Intergroup relations

The context of interaction between relevant groups, such as the degree of multiculturalism, acculturation expectations, perceived discrimination, and prejudice (e.g., Berry, 1997; Horenczyk, 1997; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001; Phinney, 1990) as well as the feelings of acceptance and inclusion to the larger society (e.g., Bourhis et al., 1997; Jasinkaja-Lahti et al., 2003) have been reported to influence acculturation orientations and adaptation of immigrants to a large extent. Similar to the migration context, it has been maintained that the attitudes of majority members are a factor causing (re)migrants being able to 'feel at home' or 'not feeling belonged to the home country' after return (Christou, 2006a; King & Christou, 2008; Ni Laoire, 2008; Ralph, 2012). It has also been reported that the migration period creates a social distance between migrants and stayers, which is often not recognized until the return migration experience appears (Stefansson, 2004). Therefore, returnees often find themselves discursively positioned as 'different', as outside mainstream society.

As for Turkish immigrants in Western Europe, previous research shows that Turkish immigrants have been exposed to racist discrimination, prejudice, and lack of opportunities in education, labor and the housing market (Faist, 1993; Kaya, 2006; Yurdakul & Bodemann, 2006). As the largest non-European, non-Christian minority group in Europe, their image has suffered from the Islamophobic and racializing discourse in Western media (Kılıç & Menjívar, 2013; Silverstein, 2005) following 9/11 and other terrorist acts. On the other hand, Turkish migrants who form a 'migrant identity' in any of these Western countries, upon return in their home country, are labelled as '*almancı*' meaning 'German-like', regardless of the country of immigration. The word '*almancı*' has several negative connotations of 'otherness' and reflects ideas such as "the migrants are being Germanized losing Turkishness," "radicalized in religious values" or "they are 'nouveau riche'" (rich and spoiled).

To understand the experiences and the complex identities of Turkish returnees, it is important to briefly discuss the Turkish immigration and return history. Therefore, some background information is provided in the following section on the Turkish immigration and return migration history.

1.5 Turkish migration to Europe

To fully understand the dynamics of Turkish return migration, it is of utmost importance to know the historical growth of the Turkish migration movement to Western Europe and the return to Turkey as well as the main characteristics of Turkish migrants over time.

The first huge wave of migration movements to Europe started after the 1960 constitution of Turkey through which Turkish citizens gained the right to enter and leave the country freely and it increased with the official labor agreements between Turkey and a number of European countries. The first bilateral labor agreement was signed on 1 September 1961 with (former) West Germany, and after that with Austria, Belgium and the Netherlands in 1964, with France in 1965 and with Sweden in 1967 (Gökdere, 1978). As all these agreements were based on rotation, the so-called *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers) were expected and mostly expecting to stay for a couple of years and then return to Turkey.

For Turkey, state-controlled surplus labor export was a government policy planned as a demographic solution to the high employment rate, economical problems and lack of skilled workers in Turkey after the military coup on 1960. The motivation was to export excessive manpower to remit savings from abroad, while European countries aimed at getting cheap labor force rapidly for a short period of time. No counterparts seemed to have a humanitarian perspective (Abadan-Unat, 2011).

The migration motivations and the profiles of these Turkish migrants vary greatly depending on the time of their migration. The study of Daniel Lerner (1958) reveals to a great extent about the characteristics of Turkish culture at the times of first migration flow, which clearly show us the motivations of first period Turkish migrants. In a joint study of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Columbia University on seven Middle Eastern countries, when asked which country they would live in if they had to leave Turkey, 49% of Turks answered they would prefer death to leaving (cited in Abadan-Unat, 2011, p. xxi).

The first generation of migrants, therefore, were motivating themselves with the dream of returning home after having saved a certain amount of money. Initially, the migrants were not allowed to bring their families with them and

lived in groups in dormitories or in small rooms called ‘workheim’ which were provided by the employers. The first generation, therefore, considered their time in migration country in a way as a military service experience. However, the rotation principle did not work out for both sides and most Turkish migrants stayed for much longer time periods than they had expected (Abadan-Unat, 2006, 2011). Between 1961 and 1974, 800,000 workers (81% to Germany, 7% to France, and 3% to Netherlands), were sent to Europe through the intermediary of the Turkish Employment Office (TUSIAD, 2006, p. 63).

Once it is understood that the rotation principle failed, intergovernmental negotiations, as a consequence of which social security agreements were signed, started. Turkish workers gained quite a number of social rights, such as access to healthcare, unemployment money and pension rights, and state assistance in childcare and childbirth, in the host countries. However, with the global economic crisis in 1973-1974, increasing petrol prices and the oil embargo, the regular migration flow ceased and limitations in granting work permits in the host countries increased the rate of illegal immigration from Turkey (Abadan-Unat, 2011). European countries continued to be a target destination for immigrants, while the high unemployment rate and political instability in Turkey were basic push factors in that era and the existing social rights in European countries such as child subsidies encouraged the Turkish immigrants to bring their families.

Upon family reunions, migrant families encountered with quite a number of challenges, such as lack of language skills of the family members, children’s not being able to adapt to school system, which caused them to withdraw from the social life and live isolated lives in ghettos. Mostly uneducated Turkish migrants from rural areas of Turkey who decided to settle in European countries insisted on staying strictly adherent to their home culture. Their way of life came across with the widespread exclusionary attitudes and the hostility of Europeans. Xenophobia entered into the lives of the immigrants, strengthening their national ties and making them more isolated in ghettos. Meanwhile, quite a number of Turkish entrepreneurs started to establish small independent businesses in many sectors such as food, manufacturing, tourism, insurance etc. (Abadan-Unat, 2011).

After the military coup in Turkey in 1980, asylum seeking became another reason for emigration for certain Turkish citizens. With family reunifications and family formation, together with constant labor migration, the number of Turkish citizens living in Europe reached almost two million in the 1980s, 2.9 million in the mid-1990s. The number decreased to 2.7 million in 2000 and remained stable in the 2000s. However, the decrease is mostly because of immi-

grants of Turkish origin having obtained citizenship in the host countries (TÜSIAD, 2006).

Today, the profiles of the contemporary Turkish-origin immigrants, especially of the third generation, are rather different from guest-worker stereotype of the past. They seem familiar and comfortable with both cultures, can use transportation and communication tools available to them, and can spend varying amount of time in both cultures. They are also actively involved in the dynamic business sector and social life (Kaya & Kentel, 2008).

Although Turks constitutes one of the largest immigrant groups in Europe (Muus, 2003), a large number of Turkish immigrants return to Turkey every year making it a dynamic process. More information will be provided regarding the history of Turkish return migration in the following section.

1.6 Turkish return migration

The return pattern of Turkish immigrants differs from the Turkish labor emigration flow. Turkish labor migration flow started slowly in the beginning of 1960s, peaked in the early 1970s and changed to family reunification in European countries through the end of the 1970s (Gökdere, 1978, p. 99). As for the return migration flow, Turks returned in three separate waves. In the first two waves, two large groups of Turkish migrants returned in the 1966-1967 and 1974-1977 recessions. The third large group of people was encouraged to return home in 1983-1984 by means of repatriation policies of the immigration countries and return incentives (Martin, 1991, p. 38). From 1985 to 1998, there was a decline in the return rates of the Turkish migrants as many Turkish migrants decided to become settlers in Europe (Abadan-Unat, 2011). According to Adaman and Kaya (2012), although there is a decline in the number of Turkish return migrants, recently, a different group of Turkish migrants tend to return to Turkey. They call it ‘a new phenomenon’ because this group of people involves qualified middle and upper middle class migrants of Turkish origin. They state that every year 8,000 Turkish-origin immigrants and mostly their children who are attracted by the booming economy of Turkey return to Turkey to be employed in different sectors of the economy, varying from automotive to tourism.

The literature is replete with studies investigating the migration flows and adaptation processes of the immigrants. However, more studies are needed to explore the return of migrant groups. From a few number of studies examining several different aspects of the return migration, most of them are conducted on the sojourners who lived temporarily in a foreign country and returned home

(Cox, 2004; Sussman, 2002; Yoshida et al., 2002) and adolescents who are mostly students (Gaw, 2000; Neto, 2012; Şahin, 1990; Uehara, 1986). Because of the temporary nature of their stay, and limited age range of subjects in the studies, the experiences might not be comparable to the return experiences of traditional return migrants. Turkish case provides a representative example of traditional migration due to its history as the largest immigrant group in Europe, distinguishing characteristics of Turkish migrants and high return rates. Therefore, this study, exploring the return migration of Turkish immigrants from Germany, France and the Netherlands with a comparative and intergenerational focus, will provide more scope for evaluating the underlying dimensions of return migration.

1.7 Aim of the current research

Against the above theoretical and historical backgrounds, the aim of the present dissertation is to examine three overarching research questions:

1 Why do Turkish migrants return from Western Europe to Turkey?
2 What are the consequences of their return?
3 How do Turkish mainstreamers perceive Turkish return migrants upon their return in Turkey?

1.8 Overview of the dissertation

Apart from this introductory chapter, this dissertation consists of a theoretical chapter that summarizes previous findings and theories in return migration literature, three empirical chapters that investigate different aspects of return migration, and a final chapter that integrates and discusses the findings obtained from the present research. The particular research questions of each chapter are presented below.

Chapter 2 presents an overview of the literature on remigration. It discusses the main theoretical issues, studies, and empirical findings in the return migration literature examining the perspectives in different disciplines: economy, sociology, and psychology. The chapter raises and attempts to answer the question to what extent each theory suffices to explain the motives for and the consequences of return migration of traditional migrants. In this comprehensive overview, different models are also evaluated to gain deeper insight in return migration issues.

Chapter 3 addresses the first main research question. More specifically, the motives for Turkish return migration are examined and discussed through the experiences of three generations of Turkish migrants returning from Germany, the Netherlands, and France. The analyses are based on semi-structured interviews conducted with 48 Turkish remigrants.

In Chapter 4, based on the same sample as Chapter 3, the consequences of Turkish return migration are explored with an intergenerational focus. The chapter attempts to shed light on the factors influencing (re)adaptation of Turkish return migrants examining the experiences of Turkish return migrants from Germany, the Netherlands, and France. The chapter addresses the second research question and the results provide insight into the underlying dimensions of the readaptation period.

In Chapter 5, the perceptions of Turkish mainstreamers in Turkey towards Turkish (re)migrants from West European countries are explored. The chapter addresses the third research question and aims to elucidate themes and issues emerging in the cultural contact of (re)migrants with the Turks back in Turkey and to explicate the dimensions of the perceived stigmatization of Turkish (re)migrants. The results provide insight into the underlying dimensions of '*almanci*' (German-like) stereotype.

Chapter 6 provides a brief summary integrating and discussing the findings of the present study. It pulls together the most important characteristics of Turkish return migration, and highlights scientific and practical implications of this study.

CHAPTER 2

Remigration of traditional migrants

2.1 Overview of the chapter

This chapter[1] aims to present an overview of the literature on remigration. Through combining the perspectives of various disciplines, notably economy, sociology, and psychology, the main theoretical issues, studies and findings in the field of remigration are presented. In this chapter, I concentrate on the traditional immigrants with a 'pull' incentive (e.g., labor migrants) who migrated mostly for economic or sometimes educational reasons rather than the immigrants who are forced from their own countries and 'pushed' (e.g., political refugees) into a new environment (Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001). I address the question to what extent the theories can help to explain the causes and the consequences of the remigration experiences of the traditional migrants.

Section 2.2 presents an introduction to the study. In Section 2.3 economical approaches are discussed. Section 2.4 gives an overview of sociological approaches and in Section 2.5 psychological approaches are outlined.

2.2 Introduction

International migration is a dynamic phenomenon, which is growing globally in scope, complexity and scope. It is now estimated that there are 232 million international migrants on a worldwide basis according to the report of United Nations Population Division (UNPD, 2013), Europe hosts the largest number of international migrants with 72 million, and Germany ranks first with 10 million migrants. This migration flow has not always been unidirectional and has not always ended in the destination country. Considerable numbers of migrants return 'home' for various reasons each year. Glytsos (1988) reports that 85% of

[1] This chapter is a shortened version of: Künüroğlu, Van de Vijver & Yağmur, 'Remigration of Traditional Migrants' (submitted manuscript).

the one million Greeks, who migrated to West Germany between 1960 and 1984, returned home (p. 525). It is similar for the Turkish case where approximately 1.5 million emigrants including rejected asylum seekers returned to Turkey between 1980 and 1999 (TÜSIAD, 2006, p. 70). Today, return migration is still ongoing and every year around 40,000 migrants of Turkish origin return to Turkey only from Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2001). Therefore, remigration is an important phenomenon that needs close academic attention.

The growing diversity of migrant categories (such as refugees, asylum seekers, sojourners, and diasporic migrants) necessitates a close analysis of the distinct types of returns and returnees. In this study, I am focusing on the traditional immigrants with a 'pull' incentive (e.g., labor migrants) who migrated mostly for economic or sometimes educational reasons rather than the immigrants who are forced from their own countries and 'pushed' (e.g., political refugees) into a new environment (Ward et al., 2001). Through a systematic analysis of the theories, I describe the main theoretical issues, major studies and their findings in the field of remigration.

Return migration (or remigration) is described as a 'situation where the migrants return to their country of origin, by their own will, after a significant period of time abroad' (Dustmann & Weiss, 2007, p. 238). This definition can be extended also to include the children and grandchildren of labor migrants so as to include the large stream of second-generation returnees who often remigrate with their children as they often return after having established a family in the country of labor migration. Starting from the early 1960s labor migrants in Europe of Yugoslavs, Algerians, Greeks, Turks, Moroccans, Spaniards, Italians, and Portuguese were recruited in the rich countries of Western Europe as cheap labor force. Many migrations, originally intended to be temporary, ended up as permanent settlements; however, many migrants never gave up the ideal that they would return in the near or more distant future. This drive is sometimes so strong that migrants prefer to be buried in their heritage countries, if they have not returned yet, which probably symbolizes for them that they could eventually return to their 'home'. As for the second generations, either not wanting to live the destiny of their parents or not wanting to let their children to have the destiny they themselves have, still kept the 'return' idea alive. Raising the question what are the dynamics of these perceived destinies for each generation; this study show how the return of labor migrants has been analyzed and documented in the literature. Through a systematic overview of the available return migration literature, I intend to describe distinguishing characteristics specific to return migrants.

Return migration has been studied by a variety of disciplines such as economy, sociology, anthropology, geography, and psychology. However, it is still a rather under-theorized field (Casssorino, 2004; Rogers, 1984) in which most attempts to theorize return involve its incorporation or application to general theories of migration (King & Christou, 2008). Cassarino (2004) provides a very systematic and rigorous review regarding the typologies and frameworks of return migration. He denotes five different theoretical paradigms for the study of return migration: neoclassical economics, the new economics of migration, structural approach, transnationalism and social network theory. This chapter also covers psychological approaches and assess how much each theory helps to explain remigration experiences of the traditional migrants. I discuss the following approaches:

- Economical approaches: neoclassical economics and new economic of labor migration, structural approach.
- Sociological approaches: transnationalism.
- Psychological approaches: models dealing with acculturation and culture shock: W-curve theory of Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963), Acculturation Strategies Framework of Berry (1997), and Cultural Identity Model of Sussman (2002, 2010).

2.3 Economical approaches

2.3.1 Neoclassical economics and new economic of labor migration

Neoclassical economics perceives traditional migration as an outcome of the migrants' motivation for a higher income and wage differences between the sending and the receiving countries (Todaro, 1969). Moving from this perspective, in this framework, return is perceived as a failure of the migration experience either through miscalculation of the costs or failing to keep the benefits of the migration. Besides, migrants are viewed as individuals desiring to maximize their earnings, as well as their stay in the migration context through family formation (Cassarino, 2004).

In studies conducted on labor migrants, Baučić (1972) found workers from the former Yugoslavia returning from Germany were mostly disabled by the work done in the host country. They were less enterprising people and could not endure the heavy work conditions in Germany. Kayser (1967) revealed similar findings for Greek return migrants from Germany and Trebous (1970) for Algerian return migrants from France. Similarly, Phennix (1982) reported that

Turkish guest workers (a term used in those days to refer to labor immigrants), who had better positions in the hierarchy of labor, had less inclination to return.

Contrary to neoclassical economics, which defines return migrants as individuals failing to maximize expected incomes, NELM (New Economic of Labor Migration) perceives return as a rational result of a calculated strategy for the household as well as a consequence of a successful achievement of the goal (Cassorino, 2004; Constant & Massey, 2002; Stark, 1991). Therefore, NELM extends the context of economic analysis incorporating the individual within his/her family unit and blending income maximization with risk aversion (King & Christou, 2008). Furthermore, unlike neoclassical economics, which assumes that migration is permanent in nature to maximize the earnings, NELM assumes that people move temporarily (Constant & Massey, 2002).

Remittances play an important role in remigration. In a study on German immigrant workers by Constant and Massey (2002, pp. 27-28) from 1984-1997, it was found that remitters, who have a spouse and have a high rate of employment in the home country, are more likely to return. Remittances were also of interest in the literature on international labor migration from Turkey in the 1970s and early 1980s (Gitmez, 1984; Gökdere, 1994). Remittances were perceived as indicators of migrants' attachment to the homeland and their failure to sever their homeland ties and to integrate in the country of settlement (Çağlar, 2006). Therefore, when trends of consumption and savings of Turkish changed, it was perceived as a sign of severing the ties with the homelands and the desire to integrate. Some scholars have argued that Turkish migrants have been integrating into Germany showing that they have been spending increasingly higher portions of their income there. Therefore, they were taken as the indication of Turks' incorporation into German society at the expense of their homeland ties (Çağlar, 2006).

Although both economical perspectives provided valuable insight into the reasons why people migrate and return home, they are not without shortcomings. First, these frameworks concentrate merely on financial and economic determinants of return migration, thereby overlooking the influence of social, political, institutional, and psychological factors. Second, these models provide almost no information about the decision-making processes leading to remigration and the interaction between the migrants and the socio-political environments both in the sending and receiving contexts. The final shortcoming relates to the fact that second and subsequent generations are hardly represented in the models. They seem to be simply embedded in the household or family unit, which has relevance only within the migration goal of the first generation.

All in all, the success/failure paradigm is too simplistic to explain such a multi-layered and multi-faceted phenomenon as return migration.

2.3.2 Structural approach

The structural approach, similar to NELM, emphasizes the significance of the financial and economic resources brought back to the country of origin with regard to return decision and reintegration of the migrants. However, the structural approach does not perceive return as the mere individual experience of the migrant but argues that return migration should also be analyzed with reference to social and institutional context in the country of origin (Cassorino, 2004; Cerase, 1974; King, 1986). Within this approach, the work of Cerase (1974) provides one of the most cited typologies of return migration, distinguishing between four kinds of return of first-generation immigrants, namely return because of failure, conservatism, retirement, and innovation.

Return of failure occurs when the immigrants cannot adapt to the destination countries due to some social or political factors. The difficulties in integrating in the immigration context (e.g., discrimination, language issues) motivate them to return. Those returnees are perceived to make little developmental impact on the countries of origin. These 'failed' return migrants can also easily readapt back at home as they returned before they were adjusted to the new context, although the return often comes with considerable loss of face because of the failure.

Return of conservatism pertains to the migrants who migrate with an initial return intention after saving some money during the migration period. They tend to stay longer in the migration context than the previous group, transfer remittances, and realize their financial plans like buying properties in the country of origin. They stick to the values of home society; therefore, rather than changing the social structure, they reinforce them back at home.

Return of retirement, as reflected in the name, refers to returnees who aim to spend their old age in the home countries after they ended their working life. They are considered to make almost no developmental impact back at home.

Return of innovation occurs when immigrants are fairly well integrated abroad, having acquired new skills and involved more in the society of the host country. The returnees constitute a dynamic group perceiving themselves as 'agents of the change' and aim to return and change the homeland bringing new ideas and values as well as using the knowledge and skills acquired in the host country.

Cerase's typology constituted a base for the subsequent conceptual approaches. Gmelch (1980) reformulated the typology of Cerase analyzing return migrants addressing their intentions, motivations and adjustment patterns.

According to Gmelch, return is guided by situational and structural factors; the opportunities that immigrants expect to find in countries of origin as well as the opportunities offered in respective host countries. However, as the situational factors can only be evaluated after return, Gmelch finds the immigrants ill-prepared for return. Therefore, he analyses success or failure of remigration by correlating the reality of the home economy and society with the expectations of the returnee. If the social, economic or political context is not consistent with the expectations of the returnee, the reintegration becomes difficult.

The structural approach was quite influential attempting to show that return can no longer be seen as a phenomenon detached from the contextual factors both in the sending and receiving countries. However, by mainly focusing on the influence of return migration on the countries of origin, the structural approach leaves many unanswered questions about the internal dynamics of return migration. It does not provide in-depth information about how migrants interact with the environments in the host and respectively home country context and the psycho-social processes that they go through. Moreover, the framework pays almost no attention to later generations, although it is documented in the literature that some aspects of Cerase's typology can be extended to second generations (see King & Christou, 2008). Finally, the approach and the typologies mostly focus on the traditional migrants moving from rural areas to modern countries; therefore, the experiences of highly skilled immigrants seem to be missed in the frameworks.

2.4 Sociological perspectives

2.4.1 Transnationalism

Since the beginning of 1990s, transnationalism has had a major impact on the conceptualization and understanding of return migration. In this section, I present an overview of the theory in four parts. Initially, I provide a detailed explanation of the concept of transnationalism. Then I review studies investigating the motives for and the outcomes of return within line of transnationalism. Finally, I briefly mention the criticisms of the theory.

2.4.2 The concept of transnationalism

Transnationalism is a term conceptualized by a group of social scientists in the early 1990s deriving from the common pattern in the experiences of migrants in the US, from the East Caribbean, Haiti, and Philippines, who keep their multi-stranded social relations that link them to their country of origins (e.g., Kearney,

1995; Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992). Therefore, the migrants were called transmigrants when they developed and maintained multiple ties, such as familial, institutional, religious, economic, and political, both with their country of origin and settlement (Schiller et al., 1992). That is, the transnational approach provides a conceptual framework that does not perceive migration or return necessarily as an end point. It describes how migrants develop multi-layered identities not only through the social and economic links sustained within the heritage and host countries, but also through various ways the migrants are attached to one another by their ethnic origins, kinship and in-group solidarity.

In many ordinary labor migration flows, it is mostly the first-generation migrants who can sustain their previous social network and pre-existing institutional contacts in their ethnic homelands. However, previous research on the generational transitions revealed that second-generation migrants often maintain some knowledge of their parents' native language, do some travelling back and forth, so the ties continue although the magnitude is unclear (Levitt & Schiller, 2004; Somerville, 2008; Wolf, 1997). Especially with the recent developments in modern telecommunication and media tools, transportation, cheap international phone calls, cheap international airfare and internet facilitate the ties and relationship for the subsequent generations that span across sending and receiving countries.

The proponents of transnationalism argue that migration experience cannot be sufficiently understood by looking only at what goes on in the host country, even if not all migrants might be transnational actors or participate in trans-national activities all the time. Research in this tradition locates migrants within transnational social fields, rather than their host countries, and they empirically examine the nature and strength of their transnational ties (Levitt, 2005). The manner in which transmigrants conceptualize their experiences and construct their collective identities, is shaped by both the political and economic context of country of origin and the country of settlement (Schiller et al., 1992; Somerville, 2008). Further, the transnational studies cover a wide range of key concepts such as nation, ethnicity, identity, culture, society, place, space, home, nostalgia and so on, which help us understand the multifocal and inter-disciplinary nature of mobility from the perspectives of both who have moved and the recipient societies (Quayson & Daswani, 2013).

A caveat on transnationalism as a term is needed. I examine the term here in the context of migration where immigrants have ties with communities in their countries of origin and settlement. However, transnationalism has also been used in a broader sense to refer to multiple ties and interactions linking people

or institutions across the borders of nation-states, linked to globalization and not necessarily linked to migration (Vertovec, 1999). Also, transnationalism as used here is different from integration, as defined in a bidimensional framework (Berry, 1997; also discussed in more detail below). Integration involves the combination of maintaining the ethnic culture and adopting the mainstream culture. Compared to transnationalism, integration is less focused on actual involvement with the country of origin. Finally, the term 'diasporic return migrants' is increasingly used. The term refers to people who lived away from their country of origin for quite a long time due to certain political, social, economic, and cultural reasons or rather pressures and return to their ethnic homelands (Yijälä & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2010; Tsuda, 2009a).

Although the term diaspora historically only referred to Jewish people who lived outside their ethnic homelands for centuries, now it is used to refer to a broader category in the field of migration studies. The word diaspora has extended its meaning since mid-1980s through the 1990s, including more groups of migrant groups such as refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants or guest workers who left their ethnic homelands but still share a religious or national identity and placing more emphasis to the non-center and hybrid diasporic identities (Daswani, 2013 p. 35). Brubaker (2005) argues that diaspora should consist of at least three core elements; dispersion, homeland orientation, and boundary maintenance. Recently, the words transnationalism and diaspora have also started to be used interchangeably even though there are subtle differences between them (Quayson & Daswani, 2013).

Tsuda (2009a) describes two types of return of diasporic migrants: the return of first-generation immigrants to their country of birth and 'ethnic return migration' referring to the 'return' of second and subsequent generation immigrants to their country of heritage after having lived abroad. The experiences of first and subsequent generations differ in the sense that the first-generation migrants return to their country of birth which they are quite familiar with; the latter group, on the other hand, essentially 'returns' to an ethnic homeland which for them is somehow a foreign country. However, there is a similarity in that both groups return to an ethnic homeland, which they might feel personally or emotionally attached to.

2.4.3 Motives for return migration

When I review the studies which attempt to find out the factors that influence return migration decisions I see that in a transnational approach, actions of the migrants are viewed as a direct outcome of their 'belonging' to an ethnic community; furthermore, migrants' self-identification as well as the perception

of the 'homeland' are taken to influence their return decision (Cassarino, 2004). There are many studies showing that notions of belonging and homeland attachment have a powerful influence particularly on the choices of second generations regarding their choice of residence (Christou, 2006; King & Christou, 2014; Reynold, 2008; Wessendorf, 2007). In the case of ethnic return migrants, the idea of 'home' mostly becomes an ambiguous concept as the migrants can experience significant uncertainty in terms of the place they belong to (King et al., 2011) and therefore, they are in search of a place that provides them with a strong sense of belonging and identification (Wessendorf, 2007).

Studies on motives for return migration indicated that return is triggered by multiple and interrelated factors. In a large study, Tsuda (2009a) examined what has caused millions of diasporic migrants to return to Japan, to their ethnic homelands after living away from their countries for decades. He stated that even if economic motives are the primary return motive, ethnic ties and emotional reasons play an important role in the decision as well. The relative importance of economic and other motives can vary per ethnic group. In some later studies conducted on second-generation Greek remigrants from Germany, it was found that they return mostly because of non-economic reasons such as life style, family, and life stage (King, Christou & Ahrens, 2011) or their ethnic ties such as their prior existing social network or their kinship ties (King & Christou, 2014). On the other hand, research done on Caribbean (Potter, 2005) and Indian (Jain, 2013) migrants showed that the return was primarily due to economic reasons such as better job prospects.

Economic and ethnic reasons as 'pull factors' have often been documented and emphasized in the literature as major motives for return. Nevertheless, the possible influence of negative discourse in the host country, as manifested in negative attitudes of the mainstreamers towards immigrant groups, xenophobia, perceived discrimination, and racism and their possible influence on immigrants' sense of belonging also influence return migration decision (Bolognani, 2007; Künüroğlu et al., 2015a). Negative social conditions in the immigration context create integration problems as well as failure in the sense of belonging to the country lived. It is documented in the literature that in the context of 'racial, racialist and racist discourses and where there is a limited access to legal citizenship' (Silverstein 2005, p. 365), it becomes difficult for individuals to identify themselves as members of the host country even if they have never lived elsewhere (Kılıç & Menjívar, 2013). Bolognani (2007) maintains that Pakistani subsequent generations perceive Pakistan as a way of escaping from stigmatization in Britain after 9/11. In a study on migrant Australians, Noble

(2005) maintains that incidents of racism towards Arabs and Muslims since 2001 led to discomfort amongst migrants and their children and undermine the ability of migrants to feel at home. On the other hand, as the Rejection-Identification Model would predict (Branscombe, Schmitt & Harvey, 1999), an exclusionary, discriminatory environment may reinforce the attachment to the heritage country and in-group solidarity (Kibria et al., 2014; Portes, 1999), causing immigrants to feel that they never fully belong to the country of immigration (Tsuda, 2009).

It is documented in the literature that migrants usually mythologize the city of the homeland they desire the return through stories narrated to them by older family members through nostalgia and memory (Datta, 2013). The term nostalgia, which is derived from the Greek '*nostos*' (return) and '*algos*' (pain), today, is now commonly used to describe the desire to one day return to a place called home (Quayson & Daswani, 2013, p. 16), although it was a word first used by a medical doctor, Hofer, to describe the pathological homesickness of the Swiss soldiers serving outside their countries (1934, p. 45). However, for the subsequent generations, ethnic ties are often based on the annual summer visits, positive stories, and a favorable image of home coming from the memories of parents and grandparents which might lead to a romanticized and idealized home country image (Cohen, 1997; Tsuda, 2003; Wessendorf, 2007). Reynolds (2008) found that second-generation ethnic Caribbeans in Britain who were never fully part of British society, tended to reorient themselves to their parental homeland, whose memory had been kept alive for them by their parents' narratives and regular return visits.

2.4.4 Outcomes of return migration

The studies on the consequences of the return migration migrants also emphasize that the migrants who live with the dream of return for years and finally realizing the dream of return tend to experience disappointment. It has been noted that the migrants experience a simultaneous sense of rupture and alienations when returning to the place called 'home' (Quayson & Daswani, 2013). Schiller and Fouron (2001) compared the first-generation Haiti people's perception of home upon return to the 'old clothes that no longer fit'. For the second and third-generation migrants, who do not have embodied experience in the origin countries, it is also noted in Christou and King (2006) that return experiences trigger similar feelings of exclusion and alienation that the first generation experienced in the Western cities.

The attitudes of majority members upon return have been noted as an important factor in the readaptation period leading (re)migrants being able 'feel

at home' or 'not feeling belonged to the home country' after return (Christou, 2006a; King & Christou, 2008; Ni Laoire, 2008; Ralph, 2012). In the studies on Irish return migrants, majority of respondents reported to have problems about belonging due to the negative attitudes of non-migratory Irish peers (Ni Laoire, 2008; Ralph, 2012). In return context, the mismatch between the self-identity of the returnees and the identity attributed to them creates double consciousness which have a deep influence on them especially with the shocking revelation they are regarded in their homeland as foreigners and aliens, a feature repeatedly documented in the literature on counter-diasporic second-generation return migrants (Christhou, 2006; Künüroğlu et al., 2015b; Reynolds, 2008).

2.4.5 Critique of the theory

The fast growing body of empirical studies within the transnationalism approach contributes to understanding relevant concepts and processes specific to return migration. However, its limitations should also be acknowledged. First of all, it is found to be a rather fragmented field which needs a better defined framework as well as analytical rigor (Portes et al., 1999). Furthermore, Somerville (2008) states that the research should focus more on the processes of identity formation rather than identity outcomes. He adds that the static identity markers cannot capture the emotional attachments, and the agency in formulating and expressing emotional attachments (p. 31). Finally, the literature has been reported to say very little about the return of the subsequent generations (King & Christou, 2008).

2.5 Psychological approaches

Within the remigration theories of psychological perspectives, cultural transition is perceived as a multifaceted phenomenon involving aspects of emotion, behavior, and cognition (Ward et al., 2001). Although sociological perspectives focus more on the political, social, and economic effects of returnees on the citizens of the homeland, psychological observations focus more on the individual changes in the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors (Sussman, 2010). Acculturation and reacculturation studies mainly try to explain psychological aspects of cultural transitions and perceive stress and coping as inherent and inevitable aspects of transition experiences of the migrants. People, who leave their country of origin and come into contact with the members of another culture, go through an acculturation process, the classical definition of which is devised by Redfield and colleagues as: 'the

process of cultural change that occurs when individuals from different cultural backgrounds come into prolonged, continuous, first-hand contact with each other' (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936, p. 149). Although the change is experienced by both groups, the minority group is most affected. When migrants decide to return for whatever reason, a process of reacculturation starts (Donà & Ackermann, 2006). Reacculturation refers to readjustment to one's own culture (or heritage culture) after having lived in another culture for an extended period of time. However, migrants have developed partly or entirely new identities in the migration period (Kim, 2001; Sussman, 2000), which makes their reacculturation experience different from and sometimes more complicated than their original acculturation experience in the host country. Therefore, scholars emphasized the importance of studying the acculturation experiences of the migrants to understand the reacculturation processes (Kim, 2001; Sussman, 2000).

Initial research in acculturation and reacculturation literature mostly focused on culture shock and adaptation whereas recent literature shifted the attention to cultural identity. One of the models dealing with time aspects of acculturation such as culture shock is W-curve theory of Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963) which will be explained in the following section.

2.5.1 W-curve theory of Gullahorn and Gullahorn

Gullahorn and Gullahorn's (1963) W-curve theory, which is also called *reverse culture shock* model, was one of the most influential theoretical frameworks which was widely studied in earlier times. The W-curve was a theoretical extension of the U-curve theory of Lysgaard (1955), which describes the experiences of people started to live in a new environment as 'culture shock'. The authors maintained that the adjustment processes reoccurs when the sojourners return home and wellbeing of returnees are inclined to change over time. According to the theory, the returnee feels initial relief and comfort upon return, which is followed by a culture shock resulting from not finding the experience as expected. Afterwards, the gradual readaptation process starts.

The W-curve theory was questioned many times and was not found to reveal the processes of return accurately (Adler, 1981; Sussman, 2001). The shortcomings of the model are documented in the study of Onwumechili and colleagues in which they maintain that W-curve model can neither differentiate the acculturation and reacculturation processes nor can elaborate on why and how reacculturation takes place (2003). Moreover, acculturation and reacculturation processes have never found to have curves as described in the theory; that is, the theory was found to be inconclusive, not descriptive and not prescriptive.

Further, in the literature, it was stated to be very generalized missing the high degree variability among individuals (Ward et al., 2001).

A key model explaining the process of immigration and acculturation is Berry's (1997) acculturation framework, which will be explained in the following section.

2.5.2 Acculturation strategies framework of Berry

Berry's (1997) *acculturation model* is a major model describing the process of immigration, and the preferences of immigrants about how they want to live in the destination country. In the model, Berry specifies two dimensions that underlie these preferences: maintaining the home culture and adopting the host culture. According to the model, crossing of the two dimensions; of culture maintenance and contact results in four acculturation preferences: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. If the immigrant wishes to maintain certain features of the home culture and also wish to have contact with majority members, integration strategy results. When the immigrants favor assimilation, they desire to abandon their home culture identity, whilst they seek contact with majority members. Separation strategy exists if the migrant rejects the host culture while maintaining the features of the home culture. Finally, marginalization reflects the full rejection of both cultures, where the immigrants have no interest in having contact neither with majority members nor with the members of original culture. According to the model, the highest level of acculturative stress is observed where there is a limited supportive network (e.g., marginalization) and the lowest level of stress is experienced when the migrant manages to combine the key aspects of both cultures (e.g., integration).

Berry's model, which mostly emphasizes the importance of acculturation orientations, was extensively used to describe the adjustment processes of migrants. However, as it was constructed to answer the question of what happens to people in 'one' culture and come to continuous contact with another 'new' culture, it was not adequate to predict the experiences of return migrants. His model is exclusively based on the experiences of the immigrants in a new ethnic, linguistic and religious group, where the persons' orientations towards home and host culture identifications predict socio-cultural adaptation or 'fit in' the host culture. Consequently, the model is insufficient to elucidate the return migration experiences of immigrants who developed new identities in the immigration context, and of subsequent generations who tend to have even more complicated and multilayered identities. As the reacculturation orientations of the returnees differ greatly from the ones immigrants have in migration

context, the model provides less insight regarding the variations in the reacculturation outcomes.

Finding Berry's model more pertinent to permanent culture contact and claiming that migration had often been temporary in nature, Sussman developed her Cultural Identity Model, which is explained in the following section.

2.5.3 Cultural Identity Model of Sussman

Sussman (2000) based her model on the argument that the salience of the immigrants' pre-immigration cultural identity as well as their cultural flexibility predicts their sociocultural adaptation in the host country. Subsequently, immigrants who have adapted to the new culture utilizing the values, thought patterns, and the behaviors of the host culture to some extent, have undergone changes in their cultural identity, which only become obvious to them after return migration. That is, adjustment to the host country predicts the readaptation back at home again. She tested her theory on U.S. corporate returnees (2001) and American teachers returning from Japan (2002) and confirmed that the less migrants identified with the U.S. (so, the more they changed their original identity), the more severe readaptation stress they experience.

Sussman defines four different return migration strategies, labelled *subtractive*, *additive*, *affirmative*, and *intercultural*; each is associated with different identity shifts and levels of stress during the remigration experience. Identity shifts occurring as a result of the behavioral and social adaptations to the host country become salient upon returning home. The experiences of *subtractive* and *additive* identity shifts are caused by obscured pre-immigration cultural identities, which become salient just after migration. She states that these shifts are being triggered by the recognition of the discrepancies between the home and host cultures. Both identity shifts are characterized by relatively high levels of stress upon return; however, while *subtractive* identity shifters tend to search for opportunities to interact with the other return migrants after repatriation, *additive* identity shifters might search for opportunities to interact with the members of the previous host culture after return. For *affirmative* identity shifters, the home culture identity is maintained and strengthened during the migration experience as the discrepancies between the home and host culture are largely ignored and therefore less stress is experienced upon reentry as the home cultural identity is less disturbed. Finally, *intercultural* identity shifters hold and manage many cultural identities simultaneously and therefore have a very smooth return process. They search for interactions and develop friendships with the members representing different cultures, and might take part in a wide range of international entertainments after return.

Tannebaum (2007) analyzed the return migration experiences of Israeli return migrants using Berry's acculturation model and Sussman's cultural identity model. He maintained that remigration experiences of his study population were quite similar to immigration features and he found Berry's model more relevant than Sussman's. Israeli return migrants' narratives showed evidence of cultural identity even prior to transition although Sussman emphasized emerging salience of cultural identities upon initial transitions.

Within acculturation research, there are multiple studies examining several different aspects of the return migration, such as psychological consequences of reentry (Adler, 1981; Sahin, 1990), influence of several variables in reentry experience such as age (Cox, 2004; Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963), cultural distance between home and host environments (Uehara, 1986), contact with host country individuals (Kim, 2001) and so on, but most of them are conducted on the temporary sojourning individuals (Cox, 2004; Sussman, 2002; Uehara, 1986). However, because of the temporary nature of their stay, their experiences might not be comparable to the return experiences of traditional migrants.

Similar to the studies within the field of transnationalism, the studies of re-acculturation point to the stress and negative emotions experienced by returnees in the post return period. Tannebaum (2007) states that the changes in the conditions in the country of origin create a mismatch between the remigrants' idealized memories and the reality awaiting them at home. Moreover, one other prominent reason of the post return difficulties has been stated as the attitudes of the majority group members towards remigrants in the ethnic homeland (Sussman, 2010; Neto, 2012). Neto (2012) investigated the degree of psychological and sociocultural adaptation among adolescents who returned to Portugal and suggested that perceived discrimination experienced by Portuguese adolescents upon return played an essential role in their reacculturation outcomes. Sussman states in her work on return migration to Hong Kong (2010) that in most of the cases the remigrants return wealthier than they left and can afford to build bigger apartments, run businesses or buy lands. She maintains that compatriots do not always welcome the new philosophies, products or accented language of the returnees and may perceive them as a threat to social and spiritual order.

The above mentioned theories and models are discussed in the context of Turkish return migration in the discussion chapter of this dissertation. Turkish migration and remigration provided rich insight due to its long history of immigration in Europe, and characteristics of the migrants and remigrants to evaluate the tenets of theories.

CHAPTER 3

Motives for Turkish return migration from Western Europe: Home, sense of belonging, discrimination, and transnationalism

3.1 Overview of the chapter

This chapter[2] explores return migration motivations of different generations of Turkish migrants returning from Germany, the Netherlands and France, using semi-structured face-to-face interviews among 48 informants. The study draws on a qualitative approach and inductive content analysis to get insight into how pre-return, migration and transnational experiences of Turkish migrants influence their decisions to return to Turkey. The study revealed that motives of the returnees vary substantially across generations and socioeconomic status of the informants. It was found that an ambition to return to Turkey already present when migrating from Turkey, perceived discrimination in Western Europe and a strong sense of belonging to Turkey play the most essential roles in return decisions.

Section 3.2 presents an introduction to the study followed by a theoretical framework. In Section 3.3 the research questions are formulated and Section 3.4 gives an overview of the methods used in this study. In Section 3.5 the results of the study are given and the chapter ends with a conclusion and discussion in Section 3.6.

[1] This chapter is an extended version of Künüroğlu, Yağmur, Van de Vijver & Kroon, 'Motives for Turkish return migration from Western Europe: Home, Sense of belonging, discrimination, and transnationalism' (submitted manuscript).

3.2 Introduction

In this chapter, the motives for Turkish return migration are explored by analyzing pre-return, migration and transnational experiences of Turkish immigrants who lived in Germany, the Netherlands, and France. By addressing differences in generations and countries, I aim to gain and provide a deeper understanding of the psychological dynamics of Turkish return migration. On the basis of a cross-sectional design, I identify the factors leading to return decisions and reveal social, cultural and linguistic issues in the return process.

Return migration is described as a 'situation where the migrants return to their country of origin, by their own will, after a significant period of time abroad' (Dustmann & Weiss, 2007, p. 238). Some researchers, however, use word 'return' with inverted commas to show the complication of the process where migrants are in fact moving to the country of origin of their parents (see, e.g., King & Christou, 2011).

The experiences of first and subsequent generations differ in the sense that the first-generation migrants return to their country of birth which they are quite familiar with; the latter group, on the other hand, essentially 'returns' to an ethnic homeland which for them is somehow a foreign country. However, there is a similarity in that both groups return to an ethnic homeland which they might feel personally or emotionally attached to. Tsuda (2009a), therefore, describes two types of return of diasporic migrants: the return of first-generation immigrants to their country of birth and 'ethnic return migration' referring to the 'return' of second and subsequent generation immigrants to their country of heritage after having lived outside their ethnic homelands.

Another term used for returnees is diasporic return migrants, which refers to people who lived away from their country of origin for quite a long time due to certain political, social, economic, and cultural reasons or other pressures and return to their ethnic homelands (Yijälä & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2010; Tsuda, 2009a). Therefore, the term diaspora, which historically only referred to Jewish people who lived outside their ethnic homelands for centuries, now is used to refer to a broader category in the field of migration studies. Migratory movements of ethnic groups for economic and colonization purposes were also referred to as diaspora (Brenick & Silbereisen, 2012). It is only recently that the term diaspora has been applied to the Turkish labor migration to Western Europe (see King & Kılınç, 2013), as its history of more than fifty years of migratory experience seem to comply with the criteria of a diaspora as defined by certain scholars such as Brubaker (2005) and Esman (2013). Furthermore, King and Kılınç (2013) state that the Turkish case is an apparent example of the

labor migration diaspora category within the well-known diaspora typology (victim, colonial, trading, labor, and cultural) of Cohen (1997).

Turkey is the ethnic origin of one of the largest immigrant communities in Europe. There are currently more than 3.5 million people with Turkish ethnic origin residing in Europe (İçduygu, 2012), with a majority of these (more than 2 million) residing in Germany (Ehrkamp & Leithner, 2003). This migration flow has not always been unidirectional and has not always ended in the destination country. Approximately 1.5 million emigrants including rejected asylum seekers returned to Turkey between 1980 and 1999 (TÜSIAD, 2006, p. 70). Return migration is still ongoing to date as considerable numbers of migrants return to Turkey for various reasons each year. Around 40,000 migrants of Turkish origin are reported to return to Turkey only from Germany every year (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2001). Therefore, migration is an important phenomenon influencing large numbers of people in contemporary Turkey, which requires close academic attention.

To answer the question about the return motives, my research focuses on the links between the experiences of Turks in the host country and feelings of 'home' and 'belonging' within the framework of transnationalism. An overview of the literature on the causes of return migration, transnationalism, home and belonging is provided in the following section.

3.2.1 Return migration motives

Previous empirical research conducted on the causes of return migration did not always reveal converging findings. In early studies of return migration conducted on first-generation immigrants, Gmelch (1980) stated that the main reasons for return were not economic but rather were connected to family ties. In some later studies conducted on second-generation Greek remigrants from Germany, it was found that they return mostly because of non-economic reasons such as life style, family, and life stage (King et al., 2011) or to return to the social network they had prior to migration (King & Christou, 2014). On the other hand, research done on Caribbean (Potter, 2005) and Indian (Jain, 2013) migrants showed that the return was primarily due to economic reasons such as better job prospects. In a large study, Tsuda (2009a) also examined what has caused millions of diasporic migrants to return to their ethnic homelands after living away from their countries for decades in a Japanese context. He stated that even if economic motives are the primary cause of return, ethnic ties and emotional reasons play an important role in the decision as well. Especially, in the case of migrants from highly developed, diverse countries returning to their relatively less developed ethnic homelands, ethnicity and emotional ties play a

greater role in return decisions (Tsuda, 2009b). He therefore concludes that one should consider the dynamic interaction between economic and ethnic factors to fully comprehend ethnic migration phenomena.

Economic and ethnic reasons are emphasized in the literature as major 'pull factors' in the decision to return; yet the possible influence of negative discourse in the host country, as manifested in negative attitudes of the mainstreamers towards immigrant groups, xenophobia, perceived discrimination, and racism as well as their consequences for immigrants' sense of belonging also need scrutiny. In the context of 'racial, racialist and racist discourses and where there is a limited access to legal citizenship' (Silverstein 2005, p. 365), it becomes difficult for individuals to identify themselves as members of the host country even if they have never lived elsewhere (Kılıç & Menjívar, 2013). Further, although immigrants encounter overt forms of racism, they are also likely to be exposed to subtle racism (Duckitt, 1991; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995), or 'cultural racism' (Helms, 1993), which is based on the notion of 'cultural superiority' rather than 'racial' which defines groups as 'culturally different' as 'others' (Barker, 1981). In other words, culture replaces race and cultural racism legitimizes the exclusion of 'others' on the basis that they are not 'biologically' but 'culturally' different (Wren, 2001).

In a large study conducted by Jayaweera and Choudhury (2008), it is maintained that discrimination and the perception of being unwelcome reduces migrants' sense of belonging in Britain. Based on 319 interviews with individuals from 40 countries of origin including the UK, they claim that racial and religious discrimination were major barriers to establishing a sense of belonging to Great Britain.

3.2.2 Transnationalism, 'home', and 'belonging'

Since the beginning of the 1990s, transnationalism has had a major impact on the conceptualization and understanding of return migration. Transnational migration is defined by Schiller and Fouron (1999) as a "pattern of migration in which persons, although they move across international borders, settle, and establish relations in a new state, maintain ongoing social connections with the polity from which they originated." Therefore, the migrants were called transmigrants when they developed and maintained multiple ties such as familial, institutional, religious, economic, and political and so on, both with their country of origin and settlement (Schiller et al., 1992). The transnational approach provides a conceptual framework that does not perceive migration or return necessarily as an end point. It describes how migrants develop multilayered identities not only through the social and economic links sustained

within the heritage and host countries, but also through various ways the migrants are attached to one another by their ethnic origins, kinship and in-group solidarity.

In many ordinary labor migration flows, it is mostly the first-generation migrants who can sustain their previous social network and pre-existing institutional contacts in their ethnic homelands. However, for descendant generations, the transnational ethnic ties are mostly based on the annual summer visits, positive stories, and a favorable image of home coming from the stories memories of parents and grandparents which might lead to a romanticized and idealized home country image (Cohen, 1997; Tsuda, 2003; Wessendorf, 2007). Consequently, most descendants develop a nostalgic identification with their homelands (Al-Ali & Koser, 2002). In a transnational approach, the actions of the migrants are viewed as a direct outcome of their 'belonging' to an ethnic community; added to that, migrants' self-identification as well as the perception of the 'homeland' are illustrated to influence their return decision (Cassarino, 2004).

There are many studies showing that notions of belonging and homeland attachment have a powerful influence particularly on the choices of second generations regarding their choice of residence (King & Christou, 2014; Reynold, 2008; Wessendorf, 2007). In the case of ethnic return migrants, the idea of 'home' mostly becomes an ambiguous concept as the migrants can experience significant uncertainty in terms of the place they belong to (King et al., 2011) and therefore, they are in search of a place that provides them with a strong sense of belonging and identification (Wessendorf, 2007).

Belonging is related to emotional attachment, feeling at home and feeling safe (Yuval-Davis et al., 2006). On the other hand, Falicov (2005, p. 399) asks: 'If home is where the heart is, and one's heart is with one's family, language, and country, what happens when your family, language, and culture occupy two different worlds?' This, in a nutshell, describes the complicated condition of people who live in another country than they were born in or originated from. Can one person belong to one place or to two at the same time or to none? This shows us that belonging is a complex and a multi-layered concept. The approaches to conceptualize 'home' and 'belonging' vary across disciplines (for a literature review, see, for instance, Yuval-Davis, 2006). In this article my focus is on the possible influence of migrants' 'feeling at home' or 'not feeling to belong to the destination country' on their return decision.

The conditions that can make migrants feel at home or not at home may vary greatly; however, the political and the societal context of the host and the home countries have considerable impact in determining the sense of belonging and

attachments of immigrants. In a context where the migrants do not feel included, there are no reasons for them to fail to identify with the majority group. Yuval-Davis (2006) argues that belonging is shaped by both emotions and identity, which are related to perceptions of inclusion and exclusion, desire for attachment and the legal context of citizenship. In a study on migrant Australians, Noble (2005) maintains that incidents of racism towards Arabs and Muslims since 2001 led to discomfort amongst migrants and their children and undermine the ability of migrants to feel 'at home'. On the other hand, an exclusionary environment may reinforce the attachment to the heritage country and in-group solidarity. It is documented in the literature that immigrant minorities can develop strong international identities with their heritage countries if they are exposed to discriminatory exclusion in the immigration country (Kibria et al., 2014; Portes, 1999), which causes them to feel that they never fully belong to the country of immigration (Tsuda, 2009).

Turks are the largest non-European, non-Christian minority group in Europe; their image has suffered from the Islamophobic and racializing discourse in Western media (Kılıç & Menjívar, 2013; Silverstein, 2005) following 9/11 and other terrorist acts. Research also shows that Turkish immigrants have been exposed to racist discrimination, prejudice, and lack of opportunities in education, labor, and the housing market in Western Europe (Faist, 1993; Kaya, 2006; Yurdakul & Bodemann, 2006). Therefore, a closer examination of the societal context that Turkish immigrants experience in Western Europe can help to shed light on the reasons of Turkish return migration. In the following section, I will provide an overview on the Turkish migration and return migration experience as well as discuss previous research conducted on the causes of Turkish return migration.

3.2.3 Turkish migration history and return migration research

The historical growth of Turkish migration Europe and the return patterns has been widely studied and documented in the literature. (For extended information on Turkish migration and return history, see Chapter 1 of this thesis.)

Compared to the number of migration studies of Turkish immigrants in European countries, there is considerably less academic work focusing on 'return' migration. There have been some older studies, the most comprehensive was conducted by Abadan-Unat et al. (1974); however, the older studies mainly focused on the effects of Turkish return migration on the Turkish economy (Gitmez, 1984; Gökdere, 1978). A more recent study by Razum, Hodoglugil and Polit (2005), conducted on first-generation male returnees from Germany, revealed that value-related and emotional reasons, nostalgic ties with the home

country and location of the family played a stronger role than purely economic or health factors in the return migration decision. Finally, there are two recent studies focusing on the return of subsequent generations. Aydın (2012) focuses on return of highly qualified Turks and outlines the main causes as disadvantageous career prospects in the host country, not feeling at home, discrimination, their social network in Turkey, and the high economic growth of Turkey. King and Kılınç (2013) focus on the second-generation returnees from Germany and examine the causes and consequences of diasporic return migration. They outline a typology of reasons in five themes: 'return as part of a family decision'; 'return as a traumatic experience'; 'return as an escape and a new start'; 'return as a project of self-realization'; 'return and the attractions of the Turkish way of life for the young returnees'. In the following section, the details of the research design are presented.

3.3 The present research

In the present study, the return motivations of Turkish immigrants, who had lived in affluent, multicultural, multiracial, multireligious, and multilingual countries for a long time and returned to their less heterogeneous home country, are examined. The study aims at deepening the understanding of return migration in the Turkish context by focusing on the narratives of individuals who underwent this experience. In this exploratory study, I aimed at unveiling different return decision determinants of the returnees from different generations from three host countries, France, Germany, and the Netherlands. We examined different variables that play a role in the decision-making process such as initial migration motivation, socio-cultural characteristics of the host country, socio-economic status and the perceived degree of adaptation of the informants. In order to understand the dynamics of return migration, I adopted an exploratory data collection approach so that informants can freely narrate their own individual experiences. In line with the most common themes in the literature on return migration, semi-structured interviews were conducted with older and younger informants.

This study set out to find answers to the following research questions:

1 What are the most common reasons of return migration among Turkish return migrants?
2 Are there any generation and socio-economic status related variations regarding the return decisions of Turkish return migrants?

There are several aspects that render this study novel among Turkish return migration studies. First of all, in most studies the data collection is limited to a specific group, mostly focusing on migrants from Germany (Aydin, 2012; King & Kılınç, 2013; Razum, Hodoglugil & Polit, 2005). Besides, the returnees in the studies are mostly relocated in just one or two specific cities in Turkey such as Antalya and Ankara (Razum, Hodoglugil & Polit, 2005), Istanbul (King & Kılınç, 2013) or Izmir (Sahin, 1990). However, in my sample the informants consist of a heterogeneous group of returnees from Germany, France, and the Netherlands who reside in multiple different districts in Turkey. In addition to the heterogeneity of the group, the intergenerational nature of the study enables us to have a wider perspective on the specific causes of Turkish return migration. This research finally provides an insight in the perceived influence of certain determining variables such as socio-economic status and the integration level of the migrants in the host country on the decision making and return migration processes.

3.4 Method

3.4.1 Approach

Given the dynamic and complex nature of return migration, I adopted a qualitative approach for my investigation. By means of semi-structured and in-depth interviews, qualitative data were collected. This way of data collection allows informants to freely narrate their own individual experiences. The analysis of the data employed content analysis procedures, which allowed me to combine both qualitative and quantitative perspectives on the texts (Neuendorf, 2002; Weber, 1990). I adopted an inductive approach for qualitative data analysis as I aimed to ground the results on the experiences of the respondents (Thomas, 2006). After the transcription of all the interviews, the coding of the interviews was carried out and the semantic categories are developed in the first phase of analysis. Afterwards, using a statistical program (SPSS Version 19), all dimensions and categories obtained from the qualitative analyses were turned into quantified variables, to be able to have frequencies and to reach generalizations. The process is explained in detail in the data analysis procedures section.

3.4.2 Participants

The study relied on the analysis of semi-structured interviews conducted with 48 Turkish return migrants from Germany (64%), the Netherlands (27%), and France (9%). The sample consisted of voluntary returnees. There were 13

families consisting of 2 to 5 members where the individuals were interviewed separately. Apart from these families, 9 people were interviewed without their family members either because the partner refused to participate in the study, or the respondent was single. Out of the 48 respondents, 25 were female and 23 were male. The respondents' average age at the time of migration was 21 years. Their ages ranged from 9 to 72 years. The number of respondents between the age ranges of 9 to 21 was 11 and all those informants lived with their families in the same house. The number of informants between the ages of 22 to 55 was 18 and the number of informants between the ages of 55 to 72 was 19. The informants belonging to the last category did not do paid work in the home country at the time as they were retired or housewives. All informants lived abroad between 4 and 45 years, with an average of 23 years. The sample is differentiated in accordance with the migrants' generations. The number of first generations who migrated when they were adults is 29, the number of second generations who are the children of migrants and migrated at an early age or were born in the host country is 10, and the number of third-generation migrants who are the grandchildren of the first generation is 9. The returnees lived in six different cities in three regions of Turkey. The respondents returned to the cities or districts of Aydin, İzmir, and Denizli in the Aegean region; to İstanbul, İzmit, and Bursa in the Marmara region, and to Sivas, Ankara, and Kırıkkale in the region of Central Anatolia.

3.4.3 Data collection and instrumentation

I approached the informants using a two-step snowball sampling method. In a first round, I asked '*muhtars*' (elected representatives of town districts), directors of institutions where many return migrants work such as call centers, heads of social organizations and clubs where there are regular events held with returned migrants and owners of popular local restaurants and the markets in towns whether they knew Turkish returned migrants. In a second round, I contacted the returnees that I was referred to and asked them for names of return migrants in other cities.

Before starting the interviews, I asked for their informed consent for taping the conversation and using it for research purposes. After having explained the basic aim of the research, the interviewees were informed that their names would not be used and shared with any formal institution, as most of them stated their worries about any possible complication in future visa or citizenship procedures of the country of immigration or any problem due to the current sensitive and active political situation of Turkey.

Each interview started with an invitation to inform the interviewer about the migration experiences in detail right from the start when the respondent or the family for the subsequent generations first thought about going to another country. The returnees were asked to describe their immigration and return experiences together as it is of great importance to understand the returnees in relation to their past experiences and within the specific situation they found themselves in. Key areas explored during the interviews were the development of the idea to migrate, reasons for migrating, experiences during settlement including issues encountered and resources and strategies to deal with those issues, influences of socioeconomic conditions in the host country, the development of the idea to return, reasons for return migration, expectations and the worries about return, and ensuing measures taken against possible prospective difficulties. Participants were encouraged to freely express their opinions and feelings, tell anecdotes, and comment on the experiences and opinions.

3.4.4 Data analysis procedures

All conversations were digitally recorded, transcribed verbatim, and the names of interviewees were anonymized for data storage. Since all the conversations were conducted in Turkish, the responses in the quotations have afterwards been translated into English as accurate as possible.

All the transcripts were read thoroughly and rigorously. Then, the text is segmented into the smallest meaningful units. In the first stage, I labelled these segments of the information according to themes and created initial codes to be able to create categories. This initial coding helped us to begin to conceptualize the themes and what basic processes occurred in the migration and return periods and settings of the informants. After this initial coding stage, I created categories to condense and group the codes that convey the same theme. After formulating the categories, I grouped related categories under higher order headings.

As an illustration, a concrete example is given here. In talking about the host country, the informants mentioned a rich variety of personal experiences. One of the most commonly reported issues was related to perceived discrimination. After the initial coding of huge number of experiences and observations, I made categories such as ‘reasons of discrimination’ and ‘the experience of discrimination’. Within the category of reasons of discrimination, I could see a rich distribution of responses, and I created 22 sub-categories such as: (1) being Turkish; (2) being Muslim; (3) not being accepted as legitimate co-citizens; and (4) historically rooted negative views against Turks. Similarly, within the category of ‘experience of discrimination’, I formulated sub-categories as: (1)

no personal experience of discrimination; (2) observing overall discrimination of Turks; (3) observing general discrimination of Muslims; and (4) personally experiencing discrimination. For these sub-categories and categories, 'discrimination' was the higher order heading. The same analytical process was followed for the other domains.

On the basis of this categorizations and sub-categorizations all the responses of the informants were numerically coded in the SPSS file. Basic descriptive analysis enabled us to have frequencies and make generalizations.

3.5 Results

3.5.1 Common reasons of return

The first research question deals with the most common reasons of return migration among Turkish returnees. Each of the 48 informants had their own reasons and stories regarding the return decision. In Table 3.1, the reasons of return as expressed by informants are presented in a descending order of frequency.

Table 3.1 Reasons for return migration (N = 48)

Reasons as reported by the informants	N	%
Initially determined return decision/ambition	19	39.6
Parental decision/demand	13	27.1
To be close to family members living in Turkey	12	25.0
Retirement	11	22.9
Constant homesickness	9	18,8
Perceived discrimination in the host country	7	14.6
Negative job prospects in the host country	7	14.6
Economic crisis/deterioration in the host country	6	12.5
Emotional ties with Turkey	6	12.5
Difficult socio-cultural circumstances in the host country	5	10.4
Partner's decision/demand	4	8.3
Children related factors (education/wellbeing/isolation)	4	8.3
Feeling more comfortable and peaceful in Turkey	4	8.3
To set up a business in Turkey	4	8.3
Climate and nature related reasons	4	8.3
Health reasons	3	6.3

Not having language problems in Turkey	3	6.3
Practices of the government adopting and supporting assimilation policy (e.g., abolition of Turkish lessons)	3	6.3
Availability of richer opportunities in Turkey	2	4.2
Increasing job opportunities in Turkey	2	4.2
(Possibility of) a racist party governing the country	2	4.2
Problems with fellow Kurdish-Turkish migrants	2	4.2
Concerns about racial attacks in the host country	1	2.1
Demand of Turkish employer	1	2.1
Improving socio-economic conditions in Turkey	1	2.1

The 25 reasons reported in Table 3.1 can be categorized around two major axes: West European context related and Turkish context related factors. Being close to family members in Turkey, emotional ties with the homeland, setting up a business in Turkey and so forth can be subsumed under the Turkish context related factor. Perceived discrimination, fear of racial attacks, negative job prospects in the host country and so forth can be categorized under the West European related factors.

The most commonly shared reason among the informants (39.6%) is the realization of the wish, already present at the moment of migration from Turkey, to eventually return. Still, many immigrants report to have frequently postponed returning to Turkey, which is reminiscent of the 'myth of return', i.e., the dream of return of migrants, believed to happen in the future, continuously postponed and actually never happening (Anwar, 1979). Furthermore, the parents' decision becomes the young informants' reason to return. Almost all young informants reported that it was their parents' decision (or imposition) to return to Turkey. For the parents Turkey is a homeland but for the second and third generation, born in the host country, Turkey actually becomes their country of immigration.

In order to further illustrate the reasons presented in Table 3.1, some of the insights and experiences of the informants are discussed in more depth in the following section. The text below is a representative quotation showing a typical account for first-generation labor migrants who migrated with the sole aim of saving money and who never planned a future in the host country. The quotation also shows how the myth of return was a distinctive element of their migration experience.

> Ours was poverty, there were no job opportunities, we could not afford to rent, we were six siblings. I just migrated to work, I was just 16 and I had always the idea and hope to return, we would come after five years, we would go after three years, it was our entire plan. We did not do anything for a future there. The return plan to Turkey was always there but it did not happen soon. Some Germans even made fun of us and said: '*Nächstes Jahr, nächstes Jahr* [next year, next year], when is this next year going to come?' Our aim was just a house and money to return. All our aim was money.
>
> (Respondent 11; age 60, 1st generation, migrated to Germany in 1969 and returned in 1994, primary school)

The text below belongs to a first generation highly educated and high economic status migrant who migrated due to family formation. The quotation illustrates the powerful influence of return intention as well as home-related reasons on return decisions for the migrants.

> I wanted to return and return from the very first day we went. I always felt myself away from home and homesick. I just wanted to return whatever happens, to have my family next to me. To me, even the air and water is different in Turkey. I feel pleased even by the things like shopping from the herbalists, listening to Turkish music, sunny days, and having people talking in Turkish around.
>
> (Respondent 43; age 42, 1st generation, migrated to the Netherlands in 1992 and returned in 2008, university graduate)

The informant below was chosen to represent the experiences of second-generation migrants who had no initial return intention. The informant reported to have made his investment in the host country planning a future for his family and stated that he was quite integrated into the culture in the host country. However, conditions in the host country made him decide to return to Turkey.

> In 1979, I took the University Entrance Exam in Turkey and was admitted to [name of the program] in [name of the university] in [name of the city] but I could not attend due to political turmoil. I went there, studied English Literature for six years part time and worked as a translator. I got married and my wife came. Recently, I was displeased with the process, especially the politics against foreigners. The attitude of the society towards foreigners started to be very negative and that caused me to think about return

> seriously. I started to think about whether to return, we returned after a sudden decision.
>
> (Respondent 42; age 49, migrated to the Netherlands in 1980 and returned in 2008, university graduate)

All the third-generation and the second-generation children returnees who returned before the age of 16 reported to migrate as a consequence of their parents' decision or demand. They all stated that although they were informed by their parents, they could not imagine how the experience would be. In the next interview quote, a third-generation informant describes his experience which represents almost all of the third-generation informants in the interview data. His experience shows that the homeland was a place which they just visited in the holidays for a limited period of time to enjoy good weather, friends, relatives, and good food; they did not have a clear view on life in Turkey. Therefore, even if they felt being part in the decision making process, or at least not felt being obliged to return, the experience was not like an actual return.

> It was a little complicated, we just came here all of a sudden. I was feeling like we were going on a holiday. I found myself here, my sister already wanted it but I did not have an exact idea about what was going to happen. In fact, now I understand it was a big decision in my life but I was not aware of it at that time.
>
> (Respondent 20; age 20, 3rd generation, born in the Netherlands, returned in 2005, student)

For the first generation, return was a natural ending of the migration cycle. Around 23% of the informants reported that after retirement return was the only option for them. Nevertheless, for this group of people complete return is never possible as they left children and grandchildren behind in the host country. They seem to live seven to eight months in Turkey and spend the winters next to their children in the host country.

The experience of the informant below was chosen as it illustrates that for most first-generation migrants the return is mostly perceived as an implementation of the original plan rather than a recently taken decision, which created another split family and ongoing transnational visits.

> Yes, we were there but mentally our minds were here. We could not enjoy our lives and could not get the most out of it. We never planned to stay and live there. We always thought about returning. The biggest mistake was

> returning without children, if we were able to take them as well, we would be very happy. Now it is like we left our arms or a part of our body there.
>
> (Respondent 41; age 61, 1st generation, migrated to Germany in 1969 and returned in 2009, retired worker)

In the literature on immigration, it is common to talk about pull and push factors. As seen in the reasons listed in Table 3.1, the 'pull' and 'push' division can be applied to return migration to a certain degree as well. The positive aspects of social and cultural life in Turkey seem to be pulling most informants. Important pull factors were being close to the extended family members and relatives, emotional attachment to the homeland, better climate and feeling comfortable in Turkey. On the other hand, perceived discrimination in the host country, negative job prospects and so forth seem to be 'push' factors for the informants. Push and pull division cannot be applied to the second-generation returnees for the reasons discussed above. Nevertheless, perceived discrimination and the concerns for the welfare of the children turned out to be the most commonly reported reasons regarding the 'push' factor. The issues of children will be dealt with later.

The text below is a remarkable account of return migration due to pull factors in the home country and the informant throws the spotlight on the booming economy of Turkey and emerging job opportunities. The quotation comes from a second-generation informant returning to open a branch of his family business in Turkey.

> Lately, we have invested in Turkey more, the trade opportunities have increased in Turkey, we had to return due to work related reasons and it became an opportunity for us. We all had a desire to return, the life in Turkey is different. It is different in terms of warmth, the view of people, warmer and intimate, more understanding, we have the same culture, same language, there are mosques here for example. We missed the mosques deeply there. There are one thousand people in a prayer here and it is a different atmosphere and mysticism. Although I was born there, here is different.
>
> (Respondent 13; age 41, 2nd generation, born in Germany, high school graduate, returned in 2011)

3.5.2 Perceived discrimination

Because racist attacks and perceived discrimination were reported by large numbers of informants, the decision was taken during the interviews to further

investigate this matter. With each informant, the reasons and domains of discrimination were discussed. When the informants were asked whether they experienced any discrimination in the host country themselves, 37.5% reported no such experience personally. They reported observing discrimination directed at other immigrant groups on the basis of ethnicity or religion. Nevertheless, when the topic was further discussed, many became more forthcoming and revealed personal experiences. As seen in Table 3.2, 41.7% of the informants reported experiencing actual discrimination and 12.5% of the informants reported witnessing discrimination against other Turkish immigrants as well as other foreigners (6.3%).

Table 3.2 Experience of discrimination in the host country (N = 48)

Type of experience	**N**	**%**
Personally experiencing actual discrimination	20	41.7
No personal experience of discrimination	18	37.5
Observing overall discrimination of Turks	6	12.5
Observing discrimination of all immigrant groups and foreigners	3	6.3
Observing general discrimination of Muslims	1	2.1

The first-generation informants mostly stated that in the initial period of their migration, they were not aware that they were discriminated against as they did not speak the host language. They mostly mentioned that it occurred to them only after they acquired the basics of the host language that they started to feel being discriminated. However, the second-generation informants who speak the host language fluently, have a wider contact with the host community members and follow the media in the host language, stated to have experienced it all through their lives and in more varied contexts. The extract below reflects the experience of a first generation, highly educated informant who stated that he became quite integrated into the host country and never had a return intention to Turkey. The quotation is noteworthy in addressing the frustration experienced due to the reported perceived discrimination in different domains in the host country and its influence on the decision to return.

> We always felt second-class citizens; we felt it in many occasions and contexts, every time when you have an issue with the police, or when you have another issue in another context. Their treatments to the Germans and to foreigners are different. It affected my decision to return. I thought no matter how hard I tried [*ağzınla kuş tutsan* – literal translation: *even if you*

catch a bird with your mouth] you are not second class, you are even fifth class of citizen in the country.

(Respondent 36; age 47, 1st generation, migrated to Germany in 1991 and returned in 2008, university graduate)

Discrimination on the grounds of religion was not commonly mentioned in the initial discussion; however when the reasons for discrimination were discussed in more detail, ethnic identity and religion emerged as the most important factors, as can be seen in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Reasons for perceived discrimination in the host country (N = 48)

Reported reasons for perceived discrimination	**N**	**%**
Being Turkish	28	58.3
Being Muslim	14	29.2
Not being accepted as legitimate co-citizens	11	22.9
Misrepresentation of Turks by other Turkish immigrants	10	20.8
Misperception of Turks due to overall prejudice and stereotyping	10	20.8
Non-integration of Turks / maladaptation	8	16.7
Deeply rooted discriminatory tradition regarding foreigners	8	16.7
Not adapting the dressing code in the MC	7	14.6
Wearing religious ornaments/headscarf	6	12.5
Self-isolation of Turks themselves	5	10.4
Not speaking the host language well enough	5	10.4
Jealousy by the mainstream members of successful migrants	5	10.4
Demographic factors as large inflow of migrants	5	10.4
Historically rooted negative views against Turks	4	8.3
Negative effect of media	4	8,3
The campaign of the USA after September, 11	3	6.3
The campaign of a racist party and its coming to government	2	4.2
Having different norms and values	1	2.1
Physical and phenotypical differences	1	2.1
Turks not leaving their Turkish passports to support integration	1	2.1

The twenty different reasons reported by the informants can be grouped around five major axes: ethnicity, religion, host country citizens, Turkish migrants in the immigration country, and political factors. Whereas being Turkish is a factor

related to ethnic identity, being Muslim and wearing religious ornaments or a headscarf fall into the category of religious identity related factors. Misrepresentation of Turks by other Turkish immigrants, non-integration of Turks or maladaptation, not speaking the host language well enough and self-isolation of Turks can be subsumed under the factor attributed to Turkish immigrants' inadequacy of adaptation in the host country. Misperception of Turks due to overall prejudice and stereotyping, jealousy of the mainstream members for successful migrants, deeply rooted discriminatory tradition of foreigners and so forth can be categorized under the factors attributed to host country citizens. The causes related to politics refer to factors such as the influence of media, the international developments after 9/11 and so forth.

During the interviews, it was observed that when the discrimination topic first rose, the informants tended to talk about it as a concept that is experienced by other Turkish migrants rather than by themselves. When they went on talking about the issue, only after the follow-up questions, they started to talk about their own experiences. Further, as mentioned above, most migrants see the other Turkish migrants as one of the reasons for the perceived discrimination in the host country. In view of the fact that most informants were distancing themselves from fellow Turkish migrants, the informants were asked to describe how they perceived other Turkish immigrants in their host country.

Table 3.4 Perception of fellow migrants in the host country (N = 48)

Perception as reported	**N**	**%**
Poorly integrated – misfits	10	20.8
Strong solidarity and tight social networks	8	16.7
Almost no contact with host community members – social isolation	8	16.7
Considering 2nd and 3rd generation well-adapted and successful	8	16.7
Lowly educated with very low literacy levels	7	14.6
Problem group with asocial behavior	5	10.4
Fragmented along religious lines	4	8.3
Ignorant towards own children's problems	4	8.3
Have serious problems in the host language	4	8.3
Always desiring but failing to return Turkey as the children grew up	4	8.3
Fragmented along political views (polarized)	3	6.3
Having no social solidarity between them	2	4.2
Very well adapted and successful group	2	4.2
Considering the third-generation vagabond	2	4.2

Tight social networks with high social control	1	2.1
Nationalist and stick to Turkish traditions	1	2.1

As seen in Table 3.4, although almost all informants tended to distance themselves from other Turkish migrants, they had both similar and contrasting views about them. Some informants perceive immigrants as a group that has failed (poorly integrated, socially isolated, fragmented, unable to solve problems of their children), whereas other informants perceive them as a well-adapted group, actively involved in all kinds of businesses, having high solidarity and so forth. The informants who see fellow migrants as a misfit group attribute the reason for experienced discrimination to the group itself, whereas the informants seeing fellow Turkish immigrants as a well-adapted group attribute the causes of perceived discrimination to other reasons.

3.5.3 Children related issues

Children related issues emerged as one of the most prominent return motives for the families. As can be seen in Table 3.5, 19 different types of responses were reported by the informants that can be categorized along different dimensions. The table below displays the responses from both the parents and the children. When I evaluate responses in terms of their influence in return decision, the reasons can be grouped around three major axes, namely the differences between school systems, perceived discrimination and socio-cultural concerns.

Table 3.5 Children-related issues in return decisions (N = 48)

Reported issues about children	**N**	**%**
Discrimination at school	9	18.8
Enjoying childhood more as the school system is not demanding	9	18.8
A more flexible school system (e.g., no attendance obligation)	8	16.7
Adaptation problems – problems of well-being	6	12.5
Children separated from parents / sent back to homeland	6	12.5
Low academic success due to issues at school	6	12.5
Language and communication problems	5	10.4
Student-centered approach in teaching	2	4.2
Children not being able to join parents due to legal restrictions	1	2.1
School choice issues – ethnic populated schools	1	2.1
Encountering bullying at school due to ethnic, religious and linguistic factors	1	2.1

Feeling uncomfortable as there are no other Turks in the classroom	1	2.1
Having discipline and behavior problems at school	1	2.1

Discrimination again emerged as a very prominent issue in the families having children at school age. Almost one-fifth of the informants mentioned child related discrimination issues directly influencing their return migration decision. Some families wanted to raise their children in Turkey and not let them be exposed to discrimination in the host country. The experience of the informant illustrated in the text below is a remarkable example of migrants who are rather upfront about child related motivations for return. The informant expresses his mere concern to protect his children from being exposed to discrimination in a host country and worked in two jobs to reach the initial aim of saving enough money before *it is too late to return* (an expression used by many informants referring to a critical period for the children, which is discussed further below).

> Since I went there I was so determined to return the latest just after my children finished primary school. It was a taboo for me. Whatever happened I was going to return. I worked so hard because of that. The only thing in my mind was to return just before my children finish primary school or start secondary school. I did not want them to go to school there because the Turks in France, although they are French citizens, it is written 'Turkish origin' in their IDs. It means you are not one hundred percent French. You are a second class citizen, second class.
>
> (Respondent 6; age 57, 1st generation, migrated to France in 1973 and returned in 2005, high school graduate)

In most narratives, as seen in the quotations above and below as well, the parents talked about a critical age for their children before which they targeted their return. The definition of the critical age varied among parents as either before starting primary school, before starting secondary school or before finishing secondary school. While one of the reasons for that was to return before the adolescence of the children or to be able to have enough time to prepare for and write the critical exams in the Turkish education system.

Both the parents and the children referred to the differences in the school systems in Turkey and the countries of immigration. Both stated that the school systems in the host countries are more flexible and give the children more free time after school to socialize and join extracurricular activities. However, the awareness level of the families seemed to cause the parents to perceive the situation in diverse ways. Although some parents perceived the student centered

school system in the host country as positive, other informants tended to value the traditional and competitive education system based on the exams in Turkey. Most families reported that they wanted their children to attend schools in Turkey as they believe the Turkish education system is better, being more demanding and preparing the children better for life. Further, due to the differences in the schooling systems, some families, especially the first-generation parents who did not complete the schools in the host country, stated that they were worried about not being able to adequately support and guide their children in a system they are not familiar with. Their level of host language proficiency became another concern for the parents as they feel their level of the host language, which is quite sufficient to survive in daily conversations and informal settings, would not suffice for the academic needs of the children. Therefore those families felt that they could help their children better in their education in Turkey, as they are more familiar with the system or as they do not have language problems in Turkey. The text below belongs to a first-generation informant who migrated for family formation. The quotation reflects the significance of the parental role, as a guide and a supporter, in return migration decisions and points to the issue that parents questioned their adequacy for their children in an environment which is not felt familiar.

> I do not know, we just thought it would have been better for the children. The reason is that my German now is good but it is just for street conversations but what my daughter needs is the education at school. To what extent could I help her there? Here it is our own language; we can do everything by ourselves. If not, there are private courses, we have a large network and neighbors. Everything is good here in that sense. Therefore, we wanted to return more because of our children. We wanted to raise them here.
>
> (Respondent 47; age 36, 1st generation, migrated to Germany in 2001 returned in 2011, high school graduate)

Concerns about socio-cultural issues regarding the children mostly emerged in the narratives of the less educated migrants. Those migrants mostly believe that it is hardly possible for a Turkish migrant child to pursue a successful academic career in the host country and they are all worried about undesirable cultural changes their children could go through. They reported that they do not want their children to be like the Turkish migrants' children in the host country whom they perceive as social outcasts. The narrative below calls attention to an important commonality among the migrants of low socio-economic status per-

ceiving the Turkish migrant children as socially undesirable. The text also illustrates how the migrants idealize the socio-cultural environment in Turkey and desire to take their children to Turkey before a critical age to avoid the perceived stereotype of Turkish youth.

> We even wanted our children to start primary school in Turkey. The reason was that there was not a good model in the environment in which we lived. That's why I wanted my children to pursue their education in Turkey. The network here always seemed different to me. For instance, there are many good role models that I can show to my children like you, or I have my nephews. I can show them as examples and say things like 'look at them, how successful they became entering good universities. Why should not you also be like them?' However, we would not show such role models like these there.
>
> (Respondent 28; age 41, 1st generation, migrated to Germany in 1994, returned in 2009, high school graduate)

3.5.4 Influence of host society integration

When I examined the return decisions of the informants, their narratives revealed thematic similarities in the return decision-making processes of informants going through similar adaptation processes. The returnees who were more socially in-group oriented in the host country and identified themselves strongly with the home culture and experienced a poor adaptation in the host country reported to return mostly because of the initial return intention and home related reasons and after an emotional decision making process. Those people mostly did not bother to learn the host language and had almost no or very limited contact with host country citizens. They tended to follow mostly or only the Turkish media, to make investments solely in the home country and to get all kinds of emotional support from the ethnic community members in the host country. Those informants also reported to have spent every possible holiday in Turkey also investing in social contact with friends, which is to preserve the strong and tight links with friends and family members in Turkey. On the other hand, Turkish migrants who had a successful adaptation to the host country, i.e., those who maintained certain features of the home culture, but also adopted the new culture and therefore could manage the two cultures quite well, tended to go through a rational decision making process rather than an emotional one. In their return decision, those informants tended to take into account the changes in the host country context as well as the home related reasons whether they had an initial return intention or not. Turkish migrants

who adapted well, reported to have made an effort to learn the host language through either schooling or attending some language courses. They also stated to have searched for opportunities for social contact with host country citizens or did quite an effort to be part of mainstream society. They tended to follow both Turkish and mainstream media and invested in both the host and the home country for the future. They stated to have invested in both countries and having social contact in both countries. The migrants who were totally assimilated in the host country, and identified themselves mostly with the host culture, tended to return with a sudden decision rather than a long decision making process or initial return intention. Their motivations mostly tended to be personal or host country related, such as the changes in the host country context, or personal reasons such as arising family, health or work problems in the host country. Those informants reported that they only socialized with the natives in the host country, followed mostly the host country media and invested only in the host country as they had no intention for return.

3.6 Discussion and conclusion

The experiences of the informants regarding migration, adaptation, and return processes touched on numerous themes regarding the motives for Turkish return migration. The themes recurring on factors causing the decision to return were found to be rather varied, yet clustered as they ranged from economic reasons such as the deteriorated economic conditions in the host country or recent improvements in the economy of Turkey to personal ones such as wanting the children to pursue education in Turkey. I found that return migration is a multi-layered and multi-causal process: some migrants reported to have been quite adapted in the host country, others did not feel adapted; some stated they were exposed to discrimination, others were not; some had reached their financial aims and others had not – they however have all returned. Therefore, voluntary return should not be perceived as an individual decision triggered by just one factor as it is mostly a consequence of many factors that show considerable individual differences.

Beyond all these factors, the return was commonly described by participants as a very natural, expected and inevitable part of their migration story and their life in general. This naturalness is commonly attributed to their strong sense of belonging, ethnic identity and loyalty to their family and ‘home’. The return to Turkey, where the participants emotionally and ethnically felt they belonged to, was commonly longed for. The findings are also in line with the findings of previous research that immigrants who have a pre-existing sense of belonging to

the home society and people may idealize life in the ethnic homeland, at least at the pre-migration stage (e.g., Tartakovsky, 2008). Wessendorf (2007) also states that the dream of returning 'home' is a prominent characteristic of sojourners' identities. It was noticeable that the return was never described as a 'new start' or an 'adventure' in the lives of families but rather was commonly described as a natural part of a life either as if returning back to their 'roots' or a branch of a river reuniting with its 'spring'.

The experiences in the host country, especially perceived discrimination, were reported by participants as a major cause preventing them feeling fully belong to the host county they lived in. Failure to feel belongingness to the host country and not feeling connected to members of the host society were described as a major reason causing them to have serious concerns for the future of their children. Return was commonly an action taken not to let their children experience being negatively stereotyped or not to let them experience an unequal social status in society. Therefore, the participants kept on sustaining the social and economic links with the homeland or parental homeland through summer visits or buying properties like summer houses. It was described by the participants that they perceived the transnational visits as a strategy to prepare themselves and their family for a prospective return as well as to increase the familiarity and sense of belonging for themselves and their children with the people, language and culture in Turkey.

These reasons influencing the return decision were analyzed in terms of generational and social status differences of Turkish return migrants as well as their perceived level of integration in the host country. The experiences of the informants upon return were found identical to the ones across host countries. In my research, aspects of generational and social status differences as well as the perceived level of adaptation of Turkish migrants in the host country reveal different patterns in terms of return migration motives.

Return motives can also be analyzed in terms of intergenerational and social status differences. For the first generation, the group can be divided into two; the first one, the typical first-generation group of migrants, includes the labor migrants and their spouses whose initial plans were to stay up to five years and return after having saved an adequate amount of money to buy some property such as a house or shop or to start a business in Turkey as also pointed out in many studies in the literature (e.g., Abadan-Unat, 2006, 2011). The first-generation interviewees expressed similar motivations in their narratives. Therefore, the first-generation respondents include the type of returnees who both made good savings and decided that they could lead a comfortable life in Turkey. It is a group containing people returning after or before retirement and

tending to invest in the locations where they were planning to return. Therefore, returns were strategic decisions for the whole family rather than individually taken decisions. They also tended to keep strong links with the social network and the family members in Turkey, and buy properties, which were taken care of by the extended family members. Although return had been planned in advance, the marriages abroad of the children or their decision of not returning to Turkey caused the families to be split up and to travel back and forth on a regular basis. In brief, many first-generation migrants tend to display a typical pattern. They mostly perceive return as a resting and rehabilitation period having reached the predetermined return motivations of improved living standards after all this migration process, which was perceived as years of struggle or as a kind of military service.

Other and less characteristic first-generation returnees, migrated in the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s, constitute a group of people with a higher educational level and socio-economic status moving with different motivations than the typical first-generation migrant. Some got motivated by searching for better prospects in terms of education or social rights while others moved abroad to work in professional jobs. In this group, some migrants reported to move with the encouragement of prior immigrants or relatives perceiving the migration process as an adventure or lifetime experience in addition to the prospects they were looking for. This group consists of the returnees who shaped their decisions to return throughout the migration process due to personal reasons or the changing conditions in the host or home country. This less characteristic first-generation returnee is either younger or has a higher social status compared to typical first-generation returnees. The decision to return was more shaped through the migration period. They reported to put more effort in social integration as well as their economic integration either through learning the host country's language or engaging in more relationships with the host country's citizens.

For the second generation, especially those who led their lives within the Turkish community isolated from host country citizens mostly reported that they always lived with the dream of return. This finding is in line with previous research proposing that subsequent generations have an idealized and nostalgic home image transferred from parents and grandparents through nostalgic experiences (Cohen, 1997; Tsuda, 2003; Wessendorf, 2007). Those who migrated at a very young age reported to have lived with the happy childhood memories experienced in Turkey and they almost always had a return intention but waited for the right moment. Although they were economically well integrated and proficient speakers of the host country language, they did not

engage in social interaction with the majority group and most of them reported that they were having a life which they compared to living within a Turkish migrant community just as they lived in Turkey. For informants younger than the age of 16, the return was an informed decision of the parents and more often experienced as a migration to the country of origin rather than a return. In the families where the parents psychologically prepared the children to the return starting from the initial stages of the decision making process, the children seemed to feel part of the decision making but still they stated that they could not really foresee how the return experience would be.

In this research, different from the approaches trying to explain return decisions through merely certain social or economic factors, I found return to be a multi-layered process involving different intersected relationships. To illustrate, the socio-economic level of the informants, the characteristics of both the home and the host country as well as the initial return intention of the migrants have influenced their integration level in the host country. In return, the integration level of the migrants as well as the characteristics of both the host country and the country of origin influenced the return decision of the informants.

CHAPTER 4

Consequences of Turkish return migration from Western Europe

4.1 Overview of the chapter

This chapter[3] explores the consequences of Turkish return migration in the reconstruction of 'migrant' identities into '*almancı*' identities (literally: German-like; a pejorative term denoting Turkish returnees with a German-like identity) using semi-structured oral interviews among 48 informants. The study uses a qualitative approach and inductive content analysis to get insight into the factors influencing (re)adaptation of Turkish return migrants. On the basis of informants' self-reports, I found that perceived discrimination, cultural distance with mainstream Turks and children-related issues experienced after return emerged as major themes in the returnee's narratives. The research revealed that re-adaptation difficulties varied substantially across generations and the socio-economic status of the informants. The migration experiences and the acculturation orientations of the migrants in the countries of immigration played essential roles for a successful re-adaptation period. The results are discussed within the framework of two major models, Berry's acculturation model and Sussman's cultural identity model.

Section 4.2 presents an introduction to the study followed by a theoretical framework. In Section 4.3, the research questions are formulated and Section 4.4 gives an overview of the methods used in this study. In Section 4.5 the results of the study are given and the chapter ends with a conclusion and discussion in Section 4.6.

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[1] This chapter is an extended version of Künüroğlu, Yağmur, Van de Vijver & Kroon, Consequences of Turkish return migration from Western Europe, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* (in press).

4.2 Introduction

This chapter seeks to investigate the consequences of return migration of Turkish immigrants who for many years lived in Germany, the Netherlands, and France. Using a cross-sectional design, this study sets out to identify social, cultural, and linguistic issues emerging in the return process and identify the factors moderating the reintegration process of Turkish returnees.

Upon their return in Turkey, Turks from any of the West European countries are labelled as '*almancı*' meaning 'German-like', regardless of their specific country of immigration. The word '*almancı*' has several negative connotations of 'otherness', and reflects the idea that the migrants are Germanized or rather westernized, lost their Turkishness or religious values, and became 'nouveau riche' (rich and spoiled). As a consequence, remigrants have to negotiate their identity against a backdrop of '*almancı*' identities attributed to them by mainstream Turks in the readaptation process. Understanding the internal dynamics of Turkish return migration and shedding light on the factors affecting the return migration process will enable us to discover effective coping skills and strategies for the readjustment of Turkish return migrants into their home culture.

In a remigration context, there is some arbitrariness about what is meant with terms like home and the home country. For practical purposes, in this study 'home country' always refers to Turkey and 'host country' always refers to the European context. Similarly, 'return' for all generations refers to moving from Western Europe to Turkey.

In contrast to traditional migration (see, e.g., Berry, 1997; Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001), return migration has only recently started to receive some scholarly attention (De Bree, Davids & De Haas, 2010; Neto, 2012; Sussman, 2010). Most studies have tried to explain why returning, which has long been perceived as the natural ending point of the migration cycle or simply 'going home', can be so distressing for the people involved (Adler, 1975; Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963). According to Martin (1984), immigrants experience changes in their values, attitudes, behaviors, ideas, perceptions after they return, even if they are not always aware of the fact that they have adapted to the host culture. Upon returning home, they evaluate their personal values, cognitive maps, and the behavioral repertories against the dominant cultural norms at home and many repatriates report feelings of 'not fitting in' the home environment which makes the repatriated a member of an out-group within their home country (Sussman, 2000).

It is maintained in the literature that migration creates a social distance between migrants and stayers, which is often not recognized until migrants

decide to return (Stefonson, 2004). Therefore, returnees often find themselves discursively positioned as 'different', as outside mainstream society. On the other hand, as the migrants are likely to continue to perceive their country of origin as in-group, which is an important aspect of self-concept even from a distance in the migrated country (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), the mismatch experienced upon return tends to cause disappointment. Some studies have documented how returnees are being positioned as 'different' or the 'other' due to their changed expectations, norms, accents and financial situations during the migration period (Christou, 2006; King & Christou, 2008; Ralph, 2012). For instance, Kidder (1992) interviewed 55 Japanese students and reported that the students described themselves as "marked differently from the real Japanese" upon returning Japan because of physical, behavioral, or interpersonal differences. Kidder also claimed that some respondents even hid the fact that they were returnees in response to being perceived as different.

The studies on the readaptation of return migrants also emphasize the importance of the attitudes of majority members as a factor causing (re)migrants being able 'feel at home' or 'not feeling belonged to the home country' after return (Christou, 2006a; King & Christou, 2008; Ni Laoire, 2008; Ralph, 2012). In the studies on Irish return migrants, majority of respondents reported to have problems about belonging due to the negative attitudes of non-migratory Irish peers (Ni Laoire, 2008; Ralph, 2012). Neto (2012) investigated the degree of psychological and sociocultural adaptation among adolescents who returned to Portugal and suggested that perceived discrimination experienced by Portuguese adolescents upon return played an essential role in their reacculturation outcomes.

To understand the experiences and the complex identities of Turkish returnees, it is important to briefly discuss the Turkish immigration and return history. Therefore, some background information is provided in the following section on the Turkish immigration and return migration history.

4.2.1 Background information on Turkish migration and return migration

The historical growth of Turkish migration Europe and the return patterns has been widely studied and documented in the literature. (For extended information on Turkish migration and return history, see Chapter 1 of this thesis). Almost all studies on Turkish return migration have been conducted on the immigrants who returned from Germany (King & Kılınç, 2013; Kuruüzüm, 2002; Tufan & Yıldız 1993). Besides, much of the research focused on issues experienced by a specific generation or age group, such as educational issues experienced by high school or university students (Doğan, 1990; Tufan &

Yıldız, 1993). Further, there are also some studies dealing with the issues of Turkish return migration from an economical perspective (Gitmez, 1984; Gökdere, 1978).

Readaptation studies of Turkish remigrants did not always reveal consistent results. In a study of Kuruüzüm (2002), the social adaptation and return period difficulties of workers' children who returned from European countries and studying in high schools or equivalent were analyzed and their sociability was compared with their peers without any immigration experience. Returned high school students turned out to be as adaptable as their peers though they had encountered some adaptation difficulties in the education system. In another study conducted by Akbalık, Karaduman, Oral, and Özdoğan (2003), adaptation and self-perception level differences were compared between Turkish students who had returned and not returned from a foreign country. These authors also found that there were no significant differences in the social and academic adaptation of 299 students studying in three different schools. On the other hand, Sahin (1990), in her research conducted on returned Turkish adolescents, found that after living for many years in different European countries, returnee students experienced more depression and anxiety and had less academic success compared to their peers who had never left Turkey. In a similar study, Doğan (1990) maintained that high school students who had experienced a life in another country are experiencing more difficulty in many aspects of daily life, such as establishing social relationships in their familial and occupational lives.

There are several aspects that render this study novel among Turkish return migration studies. First of all, in this study, the data collection is not limited to a specific group either in terms of the age range of subjects or their country of immigration in Europe. In the sample, the informants consist of a heterogeneous group of returnees from Germany, France, and the Netherlands and who now reside in multiple different districts in Turkey. Finally, the research provides insight in the perceived influence of relevant background variables such as socioeconomic status and the acculturation orientation of migrants.

4.2.2 Reacculturation

People who leave their country of origin for any reason, such as improving their standard of living and giving their children better opportunities or escaping from poverty, go through an acculturation process in the migration context, which can be defined as "the process of cultural change that occurs when individuals from different cultural backgrounds come into prolonged, continuous, first-hand contact with each other" (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936,

p. 149). Although the change is experienced by both groups, the minority group is most affected. Berry's (1997) *acculturation model* is a major model describing the process of immigration, which suggests that the migrant faces two issues upon migration: maintaining the home culture and adopting the host culture. Berry's model describes four ways to combine the two cultures: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. In the integration strategy, the migrant maintains certain features of the home culture and adopts the new culture as well. In assimilation, the migrant no longer desires to maintain the home culture, which leads to loss of the culture of origin. In separation, the migrant rejects the host culture while maintaining the features of the home culture. Finally, marginalization reflects the full rejection of both cultures. According to the model, the highest level of acculturative stress is observed where there is a limited supportive network (e.g., marginalization) and the lowest level of stress is experienced when the migrant manages to combine the key aspects of both cultures (e.g., integration).

Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2006) have proposed an acculturation framework encompassing acculturation conditions, orientations, and outcomes. In the framework, cultural maintenance and cultural adoption, as the two dimensions of the acculturation orientations, are placed at the intersection of acculturation conditions and acculturation outcomes. Acculturation conditions refer to characteristics of the receiving society, of the society of origin, of the immigrant group, and personal characteristics. These conditions are taken to affect the acculturation orientations of the immigrants, which in turn influence the acculturation outcomes, encompassing psychological well-being and sociocultural competence both in the ethnic and the host culture.

When migrants return to their country of origin, a process of reacculturation starts (Donà & Ackermann, 2006). Reacculturation refers to readjustment to one's own culture (or heritage culture) after having lived in another culture for an extended period of time. However, migrants have developed partly or entirely new identities in the migration period (Kim, 2001; Sussman, 2000), which makes their reacculturation experience different from and sometimes more complicated than their original acculturation experience in the host country.

Sussman (2000) devised Cultural Identity Model, emphasizing the cultural identity change of immigrants resulting from cross-cultural transitions, to understand reacculturation processes of return migrants. In this model, the salience of the immigrants' pre-immigration cultural identity as well as their cultural flexibility predicts their sociocultural adaptation in the host country. Subsequently, the immigrants who have adapted to the new culture utilizing the

values, thought patterns and the behaviors of the host culture to some extent, have undergone changes in their cultural identity which only become obvious to them after return. That is, adjustment to the host country predicts the readaptation back at home again.

Sussman defines four different strategies, labeled *subtractive*, *additive*, *affirmative*, and *intercultural*, each of which is associated with different identity shifts and levels of stress in returnees during the remigration experience. Identity shifts occurring as a result of the behavioral and social adaptations to the host country become salient upon returning home. The experiences of *subtractive* and *additive* identity shifts are caused by obscured pre-immigration cultural identities which become salient just after migration being triggered by the recognition of the discrepancies between the home and host cultures. Both identity shifts are characterized by relatively high levels of stress upon return; however, while *subtractive* identity shifters tend to search for opportunities to interact with the other return migrants after repatriation, *additive* identity shifters might search for opportunities to interact with the members of the previous host culture after return. For *affirmative* identity shifters, the home culture identity is maintained and strengthened during the migration experience as the discrepancies between the home and host culture are largely ignored and therefore less stress is experienced upon reentry as the home cultural identity is less disturbed. Finally, *intercultural* identity shifters hold and manage many cultural identities simultaneously and therefore have a very smooth return process. They search for interactions and develop friendships with the members representing different cultures and might take part in a wide range of international entertainments after return.

4.3 The present research

In the present study, the reacculturation experiences of Turkish immigrants are examined, who had lived in affluent, multicultural, multiracial, multireligious and multilingual countries for a long time and returned to their home country that is relatively less multicultural, multilingual, and affluent. The study aims at enriching the understanding of return migration in the Turkish context focusing on the experiences of the individuals. This study set out to find answers to the following research questions:

1 What are the most common consequences of repatriation among Turkish migrants?
2 Are there any gender, generation and socio-economic status related variations regarding the readaptation processes of Turkish return migrants?

4.4 Method

4.4.1 Approach

Given the dynamic and complex nature of return migration, I adopted a qualitative approach for the investigation. Qualitative data were collected by using semi-structured, in-depth interviews. This way of data collection allows informants to freely narrate their own individual experiences. After the transcription of all the interviews, the coding of the interviews was carried out based on content analysis procedures which allowed us to combine both qualitative and quantitative perspectives on the texts (Neuendorf, 2002; Weber, 1990). I adopted an inductive approach for qualitative data analysis as I aimed to derive my findings from the data (Thomas, 2006) and ground my results on the experiences of the respondents. After the transcription of the interviews, the coding of the interviews were carried out and the semantic categories are developed in the first phase of analysis. Afterwards, using a statistical program (SPSS Version 19), all dimensions and categories obtained from the qualitative analyses were turned into quantified variables, to be able to have frequencies and to reach generalizations. The process will be explained in detail in the data analysis procedures section.

4.4.2 Participants

I interviewed 48 Turkish return migrants from Germany (64%), the Netherlands (27%), and France (9%) mainly belonging 13 different families consisting of 2 to 5 members each where the individuals were interviewed separately. In addition to these families, nine people were interviewed without their family members either because the partner refused to participate in the study, or the respondent was single. Out of the 48 respondents, 25 were female and 23 were male. The ages of the respondents ranged from 9 to 72 years. The number of respondents between 9 to 21 years of age was 11; all those informants lived with their families in the same house. The number of informants between the ages of 22 to 55 was 18 and the number of informants between the ages of 55 to 72 was 19. The informants belonging to the last category did not do paid work in Turkey at the moment as they were either retired or housewives. All informants lived abroad between 4 and 45 years, with an average of 23 years. The respondents' average age at the time of migration was 21 years. The number of first-generation members who migrated when they were adults was 29, the number of second-generation members who are the children of migrants and migrated at an early age or were born in the migration context was 10, and the number of third-generation members who are the grandchildren of the first

generation was 9. The returnees lived in six different cities in three regions of Turkey. The respondents returned to the cities or districts of Aydin, İzmir, and Denizli in the Aegean region; to İstanbul, İzmit, and Bursa in the Marmara region and to Sivas, Ankara, and Kırıkkale in central Anatolia.

4.4.3 Data collection and instrumentation

I approached the informants using a two-step snowball sampling frame. In a first round, I contacted persons who presumably knew return migrants. I asked '*muhtars*' (elected representatives of town districts), directors of institutions where many return migrants work such as call centers, heads of social organizations and clubs where there are regular events held with returned migrants and owners of popular local restaurants and the markets in towns whether they knew Turkish return migrants. In a second round, I contacted the returnees that I was referred to by the interviewees and enlarged the sample by asking them for names of other returnees (snowball sampling).

Before starting the interviews, I asked for their informed consent for taping the conversation and using it for research purposes. After having explained the basic aim of the research, the interviewees were informed that their names would not be used and shared with any government-related institution, as most of them stated their worries about any possible complication in future visa or citizenship procedures of the host country or any problem due to the current sensitive political situation of Turkey.

Each interview started with a broad invitation to inform the interviewer about the migration experiences right from the start when the respondent first thought about going to another country. The returnees were asked to describe their immigration and return experiences together as it is of great importance to understand the returnees in relation to their past experiences and within the situations they found themselves in. Key areas explored during the interviews were the development of the plan to migrate, reasons for migrating, experiences during settlement including issues encountered and resources and strategies to deal with those issues, influences of socioeconomic conditions in the migration context, the development of the idea to return, reasons for return migration, expectations and the worries about return and consequently the measures taken against possible expected difficulties, experiences during resettlement, issues encountered and resources and strategies to deal with those issues, and finally the influences of socioeconomic conditions in the returned context. Participants were encouraged to freely express their opinions and feelings, report significant events, and comment on the experiences and opinions.

4.4.4 Data analysis procedures

All conversations were digitally recorded, transcribed verbatim and the names of interviewees were anonymized. Since all the conversations were conducted in Turkish, the responses in the quotations have afterwards been translated into English as accurately as possible.

All the transcripts were read thoroughly and rigorously to be deeply involved in the data. The, the text is segmented into smallest meaningful units. In the first stage, I labelled these segments of information according to themes and created initial codes to be able to create categories. The initial coding helped me to begin to conceptualize the themes and what basic processes occurred in migration and return periods and settings of the informants. After this initial coding stage, I created categories condensing and grouping the codes that convey the same theme. After formulating the categories, I grouped related categories under higher order headings.

In order to exemplify the process, a concrete example is given here. In talking about the return migration process, the informants mentioned a rich variety of personal experiences. One of the most commonly reported issues was related to perceived discrimination. After the initial coding of huge number of experiences and observations, I reached the categories as 'reasons of discrimination', 'the experience of discrimination', and so on. Within the category of reasons of discrimination, I could see a rich distribution of responses, and I created 10 other sub-categories such as (1) "being perceived as nouveau riche/spoiled"; (2) "being exposed to jealousy"; (3) "not being accepted as legitimate co-citizens"; and (4) "being seen as culturally contaminated". Similarly, within the category of 'experience of discrimination', I formulated sub-categories as: (1) no personal experience of discrimination; (2) observing overall discrimination towards '*almancı*'; (3) personally experiencing discrimination; and (4) observing other returned migrants being defrauded. For the sub-categories and categories, 'discrimination' was a higher order heading. The same analytical process was followed for the other domains.

On the basis of this categorization and sub-categorizations, all the responses of the informants were numerically coded in SPSS file. Basic descriptive analysis enabled me to have frequencies and make generalizations.

4.5 Results

The themes reported by the informants are examined under three main clusters: sociocultural readaptation, perceived discrimination, and children, presented below.

4.5.1 Sociocultural readaptation

The first research question deals with the most common consequences of return migration among Turkish returnees. Each of the 48 informants had their own stories and issues regarding the return process. A basic frequency analysis provided us with the most common issues of return decision. The informants commented on the factors that made their readaptation smoother and also more challenging. In Table 4.1, the reasons that causes return process to be more challenging are presented in a descending order of frequency.

Table 4.1 Reasons leading to difficulties in sociocultural reintegration (N = 48)

Perceived distance with the characteristics of majority Turks	**N**	**%**
Missing social contacts and type of interaction in Western Europe	17	35.4
Increased dishonesty and low trust level in Turkey	14	29.2
Huge differences in cultural values and mentality	14	29.2
Negative cultural characteristics of Turks (not being punctual, inconsistent, etc.)	13	27.1
Divergent norms and values than the ones used to in Western Europe	11	22.9
Behavioral problems displayed in traffic, in public and schools	9	18.8
Unacceptable behavior of people in the public space	8	16.7
Rise of self-interest and individualism	7	14.6
Weakened social contacts	6	12.5
Huge differences in material culture (clothing, food, etc.)	2	4.2
Perceived social and economic shortcomings of living in Turkey compared to Western Europe	**N**	**%**
Bureaucracy and red tape	12	25.0
Insufficient health care system	12	25.0
Lack of discipline and social control	9	18.8
High prices and low purchasing power	9	18.8
Lack of facilities like language schools and sport centers	8	16.7
Deterioration of safety conditions	7	14.6

Lack of social security to feel secure about future	6	12.5
Having difficulty in communicating with the governmental agencies	6	12.5
Not being able to live in a safe, quiet and clean environment (e.g., unattended animals)	4	8.3
Urban sprawl and loss of natural beauty	2	4.2
Admissions not being fair or transparent in the job market	1	2.1
Personal Reasons	**N**	**%**
Not having a rich sociocultural life	11	22.9
Low competence in Turkish (compared to natives)	9	18.8
Sociocultural readaptation problems of other family member(s)	9	18.8
Finding Turkey very different from the time of departure	7	14.6
Not knowing recent social, cultural, and political developments in Turkey	6	12.5
Split family circumstances	5	10.4
Continually questioning the decision of return migration	4	8.3
Ruined relationships among family members due to migration and the return process	3	6.3
Financial difficulty	2	4.2
Unemployment of the informant	2	4.2
Having a lower standard of living	2	4.2
Not having social insurance	1	2.1
Having to live with other family members in the same house	1	2.1
Unemployment of the partner	1	2.1

Note The numbers of expressions in second column do not add up to the total sample size as informants could provide any number of relevant statements. Third column indicates the percentage of the total sample with a statement in the category.

As can be seen in Table 4.1, 36 different reasons were reported by the informants that can be categorized along a number of different dimensions. The reasons can be grouped around three major axes: the perceived distance with the characteristics of the majority Turks, social and economic shortcomings of living in Turkey compared to Western Europe, and personal reasons. Different cultural characteristics of Turks, such as not being punctual, unacceptable behavior of people in public or the rise of self-interest and individualism in society, can be categorized under the factors related to perceived distance with the characteristics of the majority Turks. Bureaucracy and red tape in Turkey, inadequacy of the healthcare system and lack of facilities like sports centers in

the relocated town can be subsumed under the factors related to social and economic shortcomings living in Turkey compared to the country of immigration. Finally, not having a rich sociocultural life or ruined relationships among family members due to the return decision can fall into the category of personal reasons making readaptation more challenging.

In order to illustrate and enrich the scheme presented in Table 4.1, some of the insights and experiences of the informants are discussed below. I chose quotations that exemplify types of common answers provided. As a first example, the quotation below shows the extent of cultural distance perceived by a first-generation return migrant to the majority Turks back at home. Similar to most migrants, not finding the people and the life that was left behind when moving to Western Europe is a distinctive aspect of his narrative. He points to the rise of self-interest and individualism among majority Turks and their distant characteristics and the mentality which were also reported by 29% of the respondents:

> As the people give so much importance to materialism here (the place returned), there is no longer friendship and morale here, maybe in the inner far parts of Anatolian villages but not here. For instance, if the person is seeking self-interest, he/she is your friend, if s/he doesn't, not your friend. This is so wrong, it is an anomaly. I can in no way get over it. Even the smallest things make me upset. The Turkey I left was not like this. Your friends always use you, your friend calls you to ask to be picked up by car and be taken somewhere and you do it. If one day you say that you are not available, he sulks and gets upset with you. I did not understand this. I do not know but the country has turned into something which has nothing to be missed except for the nature.
>
> (Respondent 34, age 69, 1st generation, migrated to the Netherlands in 1968, returned in 2007, university graduate)

First- and second-generation returnees stated that in the years spent in the migration context they have gone through many changes which they recognized upon return. They realized that they adapted to different cultural characteristics of the Western culture, such as being punctual, direct or sticking to the rules of the system, which they see as a reason for the perceived distance with Turkish fellows and also for having difficulties in interacting with majority Turks in the return context. As seen in Table 4.1, 35% of the respondents stated that they missed the social contacts and the type of interaction they had in the migration context. While some respondents were referring to their international and local

friends in Western Europe, most return migrants were referring to Turkish fellow migrants in the Western European country they lived in, emphasizing the sincere relations and the solidarity among Turkish migrants there. The experience of the informant below was chosen as it illustrates that for second-generation migrants, homeland was a place just visited during the holidays for a limited period of time to enjoy good weather, friends, relatives, and good food; despite being fondly remembered for good childhood memories, they did not have a clear view on the life in Turkey or had a chance to observe the people or culture and were therefore disappointed when the dream of return turned into an unexpected reality:

> I regret returning, truly, we came to Turkey, and nothing is as we left. You cannot go to a neighbor spontaneously; you even have to make an appointment with the next-door neighbor. In the past, there was not such a thing, we came here missing those things, but unfortunately we saw that here it has become much worse than in Germany. It even seems to me that in Germany, the relations among Turks are better and more sincere. We came back, after 40 years, the people are different, the people we knew had children and they grew up and we cannot recognize them, that is, everything seems unfamiliar here, but for our family network. All our other neighbors are strangers. When you go to the city center or a bazaar, you do not see a familiar face. Everything seems foreign.
>
> (Respondent 41, age 61, 2nd generation, migrated to Germany in 1969, returned in 2009, high school graduate)

For the first- and second-generation respondents, again the sociocultural differences with majority Turks and the perceived cultural distance made them less actively involved in business life. There are a number of people starting and having to end businesses; some respondents claimed to have changed jobs many times and then had to quit because of experienced readaptation difficulties. The quotation below is a representative example of remigrants who started business and had to end it as they claim to have adopted the culture and system of work in Western Europe and could not sustain it in Turkey.

> When I first came here, I opened a business, worked for a year and then closed it. It was a bakery. I tried to run it according to the laws as it is done in the migrated context, but it did not work out. Some things in Turkey were not like there. For example, lie and deceit are very common here. It is difficult to really believe and trust people here. I was used to the way there.

> Nobody deceived me and I got my rights in the place I worked. I tried to do everything according to the laws, I provided insurance for the workers but they did not want. Instead, they wanted more money. I did not accept, it would not be good on me. It is not good to be trusting here. If you are, they use you.
>
> (Respondent 37, age 50, 1st generation, migrated to the Netherlands in 1972, returned in 2011, high school graduate)

Some informants were found to have gone through an apparently more peaceful readaptation process and therefore, they were asked to reflect on the reasons contributing to their positive well-being and the coping strategies they used in the return context. It was revealed that the return was a smoother experience when it was based on a family strategy and implementation of a plan rather than the consequence of a sudden decision to move. For those families implementing a plan, there were some measures taken to minimize the influence of possible troubles during the readaptation period and the choice of the place of relocation was not random.

The measures taken before return in case of readaptation difficulties included not selling properties like houses or shops owned in Western Europe, or keeping the residence permit of the country in Western Europe for a certain period of time until they felt that they had fully readapted to Turkey. They stated that upon return, while making an effort to adapt to Turkey and having intensive contact with close family members and friends, they also continued communicating with friends back in Western Europe. They let their children keep contact with the friends in Western Europe through either summer trips or letting them have conversation via Skype. They provided their children the opportunity to follow the media of the immigration country by either installing foreign TV channels through satellites or continuing buying magazines that they were used to. A majority of these families reported to have been quite adapted to the host society as well, mixing well with host society members, following their media as well as Turkish media, and taking active part in social life there. Those respondents reported to ease their readaptation period by these measures and also stated to have used those measures to relieve their children and assure them that they were never without solutions and that they could always go back if they felt they could not adapt to Turkey.

Respondents referred to various criteria they took into account while deciding on the location that they were going to resettle. As can be seen in Table 4.2, eight different reasons reported by the informants can be categorized along two major axes: emotional ties and financial factors. Emotional ties refer

to being close to the social network and not being close to certain family members. Better financial circumstances and having more job opportunities exemplify financial factors.

Table 4.2 Reasons for choosing the place of return residence (N = 48)

Reported reasons choosing the place of relocation	N	%
Already having social contacts (family and friends)	34	70.8
Having already made some investments in the place	28	58.3
Having natural beauty and better climate	9	18.8
Better financial circumstances and rich opportunities	5	10.4
Having less sociocultural distance with Western Europe	4	8.3
Not to be close to other family members in Turkey	2	4.2
Having more job opportunities	1	2.1
Job appointment of the partner in the specific city	1	2.1

4.5.2 Perceived discrimination

Because perceived discrimination was reported by a large number of informants, the decision was taken during the interviews to further investigate the matter and analyze the issue in a different section. As can be seen in Table 4.3, when the informants were asked whether they themselves experienced any discrimination in the return context, 58.3% reported no such experience personally. They initially reported to have observed discrimination directed at return migrants (43.8%). Nevertheless, when the topic was further discussed, they revealed personal experiences as well. As seen in Table 4.3, around 42% of the informants reported experiencing actual discrimination and almost 19% of the informants reported witnessing fellow return migrants being exploited or defrauded.

Table 4.3 Experience of perceived discrimination (N = 48)

Reported experience of perceived discrimination	N	%
No personal experience of discrimination	28	58.3
Observing discrimination towards '*almancı*'	21	43.8
Experiencing actual discrimination	20	41.7
Observing other return migrants being exploited and defrauded	9	18.8

Almost all the respondents stated that they felt offended and irritated by the word '*almancı*' as it prevented them to feel at home in Turkey just as the word 'guest worker' in the immigrated context did. The respondents also stated that the word has several negative connotations of 'otherness' and 'being nouveau riche' and it reflects the idea that remigrants are living in comfort and affluence. Further, they stated that due to this stigmatization, as the returnees are perceived to have a lot of money that was earned without much effort, many Turks exploit return migrants. The quotation below is noteworthy in addressing the frustration experienced by a return migrant as well as showing the contexts in which they claimed to have been defrauded.

> When I hear the word '*almancı*', I feel a deep sorrow because it is a very bad word. To me, it is an insulting word because '*almancı*' means something like 'cringing'. It is very insulting, it means someone is 'provincial' and 'mannerless'. I have been exposed to this treatment many times. Most of the time, I did not tell that I came from Germany. For example, when my grandson went to buy a chewing gum, they sold it for a more expensive price. In fact, they were waiting for 'almancıs' to come and to take advantage of them. And one time, I never forget, I was travelling on the very first row in a bus and it was night time. I warned the driver as he had the high beam headlamps on, thinking that the driver on the car ahead of us can be distracted. I could not stand it and I asked the driver why he was doing that. And he replied, 'they are 'almancıs', let them die'.
>
> (Respondent 32, age 63, 1st generation, migrated to Germany in 1970, returned in 2011, high school graduate)

As can be seen in Table 4.4, the informants reported nine different reasons for the experienced or perceived discrimination

Table 4.4 Reasons for perceived discrimination in the return context (N = 48)

Reasons as reported by the informants	N	%
Being perceived as nouveau-riche / spoiled	11	22.9
Being exposed to jealousy and unfair treatment	9	18.8
Being seen as culturally contaminated ("otherized")	5	10.4
Not being appreciated for hard-work in Western Europe	3	6.3
Not being accepted as legitimate co-citizen	3	6.3
Not being 'pure' Turkish	1	2.1
Turks not being used to multiculturalism	1	2.1

Turks having prejudice towards other ethnic groups	1	2.1
Being perceived as a group misrepresenting Turkey in Europe	1	2.1

Those reasons can be categorized along two axes: as the reasons attributed to characteristics of majority Turks in Turkey and to the social identity of returned migrants. Jealousy, unfair treatment by Turks, and not appreciating the hard work in the immigration context can be subsumed under the category of reasons attributed to perceived characteristics of majority Turks. On the other hand, being perceived as nouveau riche or culturally contaminated by majority Turks refer to return migrants. The respondents stated that the stigmatization of return migrants was mostly caused by the migrants who returned in the 1980s with expensive cars and electronic devices to the rural areas of Turkey and tended to show off. Other characteristics were also mentioned, such as remigrants being punctual, liberal or sometimes more conservative compared to fellow people in the towns that they left years ago. So, return migrants were perceived as culturally distinct. Besides, the informants stated that the low proficiency of Turkish of the second- and third-generation migrants caused them not to be perceived as 'pure Turks' or to be perceived as 'misfits'. The quotation below is a good example pointing to the "otherization" of a migrant in a shopping context before he was recognized as a brother of a fellow countryman.

> Initially, there was the concept of '*almancı*'; when I was going to a shop in a store in Antakya, they were giving me a more expensive price. They used to understand from my talk, and they even perceived me an outsider in my own hometown. I used to send my older brother for the same T-shirt and they were asking a cheaper price. Even less than half. Then, when I went there with my brother again the owner of the shop told me: "Brother, why didn't you just tell me we are fellow countrymen?" They also told me that. When they realize that you are an '*almancı*', the price changes.
>
> (Respondent 36, age 47, 1st generation, migrated to Germany in 1991, returned in 2008, university graduate)

4.5.3 Children related issues

The adjustment of children and their educational careers were paramount topics in the agendas of the families and emerged as one of the most influential themes in the narratives. As can be seen in Table 4.5, 19 different types of responses were reported by the informants that can be categorized along different dimensions. Table 4.5 displays the responses from both parents and children.

The responses can be grouped around two major axes, namely the differences between school systems and exclusion of the children.

Table 4.5 Issues about children (N = 48)

Reported child related issues in return migration	N	%
Problems with the whole school system	16	33.3
Problems with Turkish language (proficiency)	15	31.3
Having difficulty because differences in the contents of the lessons	15	31.3
Losing academic years due to differences in system	12	25.0
Feeling fully accepted	12	25.0
Taking private lessons to catch up	11	22.9
Not having free time to enjoy childhood due to busy curriculum	10	20.8
Problems with teachers (mentality, approach)	7	14.6
Children feeling excluded by the peers	7	14.6
Feeling special (positive feelings)	7	14.6
Having advantages such as cultural and linguistic plusses	6	12.5
Experiencing difficulty not knowing the subculture (e.g., jokes, teachers)	3	6.3
Feeling exhausted due to high number of exams in the system	3	6.3
Feeling discriminated against by the school/system	2	4.2
Private schools' only having financial concerns	2	4.2
Children having behavioral and discipline problems at the school	2	4.2
Schools' not providing pedagogical help for the children	1	2.1
Not being satisfied with the traditional approach (teacher-centered) in education	1	2.1
Having advantage of avoiding university entrance exam as a citizen of a foreign country	1	2.1

Both the parents and the children referred to the differences in the school systems in Turkey and the countries of immigration. The discrepancies in the contents of the lessons, teaching approaches, roles of the teachers in the classrooms, and the demanding curricula can be subsumed under the category of issues related to the differences in the school systems. All children interviewed, except one, stated to have lost at least one academic year in Turkey due to differences in the system and to have had a chance to improve their Turkish meanwhile. Many returnee children took private lessons to catch up with the contents of the lessons. Almost all respondents pointed at the traditional and

competitive education system in Turkey that is based on exams and does not allow children any spare time for hobbies or entertainment. The quotation below is a representative case demonstrating the reflections of a second-generation migrant, who returned at the age of 9, on the contrastive features of educational systems as well as on the feeling of isolation without an institutional support in the reintegration period:

> I had a lot of difficulties initially at school. I can tell you that there are differences in school lives. There, we were learning by experimenting, the teachers were more concerned with you in person, how can I tell? I had a lot of difficulty in that respect. There, the teacher was immediately personally involved when you have a problem, but when I came here I was on my own. I was left to my own resources. Besides, the activities were more, they were giving importance to our development. I was in the basketball club, I was playing tennis and I used to swim. I also had difficulties in lessons in the beginning; I even had private courses in Math and Turkish. We were ahead of schedule in Math in France and I could solve the problems easily but Turkish was challenging, as the structures and everything were different. When I came here, I was appalled and said "What's happening?" It was so different here, but then I got over it.
>
> (Respondent 8, age 27, 2nd generation, born in France, returned in 1995, university graduate)

Feeling excluded emerged as a prominent issue in the families having children at school age. Some young informants (15%) mentioned the experience of feeling excluded by peers in their reintegration period. Children mostly attributed this problem to their low proficiency level of Turkish and not having enough knowledge regarding the subculture in friendship circles as well as the events in the recent Turkish history. Almost all of them asserted that they initially had a hard time perceiving the sense of humor and the friendship dynamics. It took them quite some time to acquire the names of politicians and artists to be able to join conversations and discussions in class. Some families referred to the differences in public and private school systems. They asserted that state schools were inadequate in providing pedagogical support and therefore they felt obliged to send their children to private schools. The experience of the informant below is a remarkable example of a migrant family that had a traumatic experience in a state school and then sent their daughter to a private school being rather upfront about recurrence of the discrimination problem again.

> The children had to start the school in [the city returned to]. The schools there are awful, we were sending them temporarily though. In the school that my daughter attended, all the students used to get out to the windows saying and shouting 'the girl from the Netherlands came!' We used to take her to school and go again to pick her up. We used to inform and ask for help from the teachers and everybody. It was a state school; there was no private school in [the city]. The children also did not like the teachers and started to complain about their behaviors towards students, they were never exposed to teachers shouting or hitting. The children started to ask to return to the Netherlands. They were telling that they were not able to live in Turkey. For five years, I really suffered for five years listening to them.
>
> (Respondent 19, age 46, 1st generation, migrated to the Netherlands in 1987, returned in 2005, high school graduate)

Although the children of the migrant families faced many challenges in the readaptation period, some of them maintained that they also enjoyed various advantages such as cultural and linguistic plusses they acquired in Western Europe. Some respondents also reported that the children became popular in the school context and among their peers as they came from European countries, which led them to feel positive and special. Especially in the schools where there are supportive qualified teachers, the children had a smoother transition and felt quite supported by their peers.

4.5 Discussion and conclusion

I was interested in the experiences of return migrants who after having lived in Western Europe had decided to return to Turkey. I used interviews to tap into the consequences of their decision to return. The experiences of the informants regarding migration, acculturation, and return processes touched on numerous themes as presented in the Results section. The themes recurring in the (re)acculturation processes of the return migrants were found to be rather varied but interrelated as they ranged from sociocultural to economic reintegration issues and to children-related issues. It has been found that acculturative stress and negative emotions mostly elaborated accompanying acculturation in regular acculturation studies (Berry, 1997; Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001), also applied to return migration experiences of Turkish migrants in the return context consistent with many studies in the literature (Adler, 1975; Doğan, 1990; Neto, 2012; Sussman, 1986, 2000; Şahin, 1990). Negative emotions and stress mostly resulted from readaptation problems of children especially in

school context, perceived distance experienced with Turkish people, and perceived discrimination. Some participants related the difficulties to the changes in Turkish society. After missing old friends, customs, friendship patterns and values, and living with the idealized dreams of home in the host cultures, they were disappointed not to find reunion a pleasant experience. I concur with Tannenbaum (2007) who stated that changes in the conditions in the country of origin create a mismatch between the remigrants' idealized memories and the reality awaiting them at home.

In most narratives, personal, emotional and social difficulties, similar to the features of first migration experience, were noticeable which made Berry's model relevant. However, as Berry's model was constructed to answer the question of what happens to people in 'one' culture and come to continuous contact with another 'new' culture, it was not adequate to predict the experiences of Turkish return migrants. His model is exclusively based on the experiences the immigrants in a new ethnic, linguistic and religious group, where the persons' orientations towards home and host culture identifications predict socio-cultural adaptation or 'fit in' the host culture. Regarding the Turkish return migrants, who have the same ethnicity, same language, same religion, and so forth with the mainstreamers still feel that they do not 'fit in' the home country and treated as 'outsiders' and 'strangers'. If we look at the first-generation respondents like one of the respondents from the eastern part of Turkey who is quoted below, we see that even the return migrants with strong Turkish cultural identification feel as an outsider in Turkey.

> I stayed in Germany for forty years and did not learn one German word at all, nor did I drink one cup of tea with a German. We went there but they did not say to us 'welcome' they just said 'is it you coming again?'. All our friends were always Turks, we did never accord with Germans.
>
> (Respondent 4, age 70, migrated to Germany in 1969, returned in 2010, primary school)

Those informants mostly did not bother to learn the host language and had almost no or very limited contact with host country citizens. They tended to follow mostly or only the Turkish media, to make investments solely in the home country and to get all kinds of emotional support from the ethnic community members in the host country. They reported to have spent every possible holiday in Turkey also investing in social contacts to preserve strong and tight links with friends and family members in Turkey. Those returnees can be said to have chosen the *separation* strategy in the migration context and identified themselves strongly with the home culture. However, the stereotype

'*almancı*' (German-like) with its negative connotations reminds them that they are 'newcomers', 'others' or 'different' who need to re-learn cultural and social practices. Almost all the respondents stated that they are disappointed by the fact that return migrants are perceived differently from mainstream Turkish citizens. Therefore, this research showed that it is not ethnicity, language or religion per se but the sense of group belonging and constructed 'social identity' that draws the boundaries between groups of people.

The process of return migration can also be conceptualized in terms of Sussman's (2010) cultural identity model. Most of the returnees were found to experience either subtractive identity shift or additive identity shift or both which are characterized by high levels of stress upon return. Subtractive identity shift is characterized as a transition in the identity away from the attitudes, beliefs and the values of the home culture which becomes salient upon return and cause the returnees to perceive themselves differently from compatriots in the home context accompanied with the feeling of isolation (fitting the descriptions of most respondents) (Sussman, 2010). All but one respondents in this study stated that they perceive majority Turkish in Turkey differently than themselves. In additive identity shift, the returnees experience a transition towards the norms, behaviors and values of the host culture, which cause them feel more similar to host culture identity and upon return they look for opportunities to interact with the previous host culture members. Although Sussman (2010) defines this shift as an identity gain, as Tannenbaum (2007) states, she did not emphasize the negative aspects much, which are relevant to explicate the return migration process. The experience of feeling different and not belonging to 'home' upon return was expressed a more difficult experience than initial migration experience by most respondents.

Affirmative identity shift, which is characterized by stressing the positive sides of the home culture and ignoring the gaps and differences between home and host culture, predicts low levels of stress upon return. If we remember the quotation above (respondent 4), the respondent neither adapted successfully to host culture nor experienced an identity shift. Although according to Sussman the experience of return migration is defined for them as a welcomed relief (Sussman, 2010, p. 77), my research reveals that the mismatch between their identities and the ones that are assigned to them in return context was a major cause of stress even for the respondents who go through an affirmative identity shift.

Intercultural identity shift, which is described as a global world view was the least common pattern which is also parallel to the claim of Sussman (2010). In the context of Turkish culture, Turkish identity also is not very flexible and

does not allow a wide range of acceptable behaviors and thoughts from residents. Besides, it is not common to detach from strong national identity or religious identity, and avoid the need of a strong feeling of belonging.

The characteristics of the Turkish community, as well as the way home is perceived with its connotations help us better understand the process both Turkish migrants and mainstream Turks go through. The Turkish community in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, the times in which the majority of the migrants left Turkey, can be compared to Riesman's (1971) 'tradition-directed group'. In this community, 'home' is a collective identification with the spatial entity and any place away from that is 'not home'. The familiar is clearly related with home and it is what the person is identified with. In the tradition-directed society, insider and outsider are clear categories where the insider is familiar and at home and the outsider is stranger who does not belong there and is away from home. In this respect, in the years spent in the host countries where the immigrants never felt a strong sense of belonging, it was understandable or tolerable to feel outsider or stranger. However, it is intolerable to feel outsider at 'home' and not being able to satisfy the needs to feel complete acceptance, peace, and membership. Further, it explains why another return back to Western Europe is hardly seen as an option for return migrants. Although they always perceived returning back to Turkey as a solution in dealing with the difficulties in the host country, they hardly ever attempted to return back to their migration country as it is never a 'perceived home' for them.

The anecdotes and the personal stories of the returnees made us aware of the psychological tribulations experienced by Turkish immigrants upon repatriation due to the alienation and the discrimination experienced at 'home' after return. The migrants, irrespective of having a very strong Turkish identity or not, when they returned home, reported to have the deep pain and disappointment of being perceived as a 'stranger' or 'outsider'. Turkish migrants who were outsiders not becoming a member of the speech community or religious community in their host countries in their migration period were attributing this outsider position to religion, ethnicity or the language. However, it is appalling for them to be considered an out-group member although they share the language, religion, and ethnicity with the dominant group. The frustration experienced by the Turkish return migrants can be explained by referring to Stonequist (1937) who argued that when the person is defined as newcomer, and when there is a conflict between this self-attributed identity and the image in the dominant group, tension is produced. Therefore, the clash of images causes mental conflicts. This then raises the question of what constitutes group membership and what makes a group member a stranger. According to Harman (1988), the changes in the

modern age like urbanization, mobility and the sophisticated communication technologies have been changing the conditions of membership in the modern world, which leads to a need to reconsider the conditions to be a member or outsider and the concepts of strangeness and familiarity. Further, in modernity the definition of 'home' should be revisited in the light of the shift from spatial and social proximity to cultural proximity.

In conclusion, there are many factors such as the characteristics of both home and host countries, integration levels in the host country, children related issues, the socioeconomic level of the migrants, as well as initial return intention of the migrants influencing the reintegration processes of return migrants in Turkey. Besides, feeling alienated and discriminated in the home country as well as the perceived distance with the majority Turks are found to be rather disappointing and unexpected for the returnees and bring up the need to reflect on the definitions of 'home' and 'membership'. Further, as pointed out by Harman (1988) the question of 'what are the fundamental conditions of membership that would create an 'outsider' relationship?', has not been recently asked in the previous literature, and we should look at the perspectives of the majority members as well as the outsiders to answer this question. Therefore, further research is needed to examine the attitudes of Turkish mainstreamers to find out the conditions giving Turkish return migrants 'an outsider' position within the same ethnic, linguistic and religious community. It is also of utmost importance to see if there a consistency between the attitudes of Turkish mainstreamers towards return migrants and the way returned migrants think they are perceived.

CHAPTER 5

Stigmatization of Turkish return migrants

5.1 Overview of the chapter

This chapter aims to investigate the perceptions of majority Turks in Turkey towards Turkish (re)migrants from West European countries. Turkish migrants who form a 'migrant identity' in Western countries are labelled as '*almancı*' meaning 'German-like' in their home country. The term '*almancı*' has a connotation of 'otherness' and reflects the idea that they are culturally distorted and spoiled. The study tried to get insight into themes and issues emerging in the cultural contact of (re)migrants with the Turks back in Turkey and explicate the dimensions of the perceived stigmatization of Turkish (re)migrants. Application of the qualitative findings of Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis, regarding perceived discrimination of return migrants and '*almancı*' stigma, were implemented in the construction of a questionnaire investigating the underlying dimensions of the '*almancı*' stereotype. The study used an original survey instrument (N = 606), in which the items are generated based on the semi-structured interviews with 53 informants (48 return migrants and 5 Turkish majority members). On the basis of the survey results, a model was developed and validated. The results of the study are discussed within the frameworks of intergroup relations in social psychology and social categorization of the social identity approach (Tajfel, 1981). The findings reveal that perceptions towards return migrants have three different dimensions. The dimensions are positive attitudes on return migrants and reintegration processes, negative attitudes on return migrants and reintegration attitudes and the sources of conflict. The main reasons of conflict between groups were found to stem from failure to abide by normative and behavioral expectations.

Section 5.2 presents an introduction to the study followed by theoretical framework. In Section 5.3 the research questions are formulated and Section 5.4 gives overview of the methods used in the study. In Section 5.5 the results of the study are given and the chapter ends with a conclusion in Chapter 5.6.

5.2 Introduction

This chapter aims to explore the perceptions regarding Turkish immigrants residing in or returning from West European countries, as held by mainstreamers in Turkey. Starting from the early 1960s, a large number of Turkish citizens from various districts of Turkey have migrated to West European countries, primarily to (former) West Germany, France, the Netherlands, Austria, and Sweden, as cheap labor force. Despite the diversity of the immigration countries and the diversification of the characteristics of migrants going to Western European countries, Turkish immigrants are called '*almancı*' (German-like) back in their country of origin. The word '*almancı*' has several negative connotations such as 'culturally distorted', 'nouveau riche' (rich and spoiled) or having lost Turkishness (see also Chapter 1). The word reflects the idea of 'otherness' which means that the immigrants are not 'one of us' anymore or more fundamentally, that they are 'different'. In this chapter, I aim to understand how Turkish return migrants are received and perceived by Turkish mainstreamers. On the basis of a survey conducted with 606 Turkish majority group members in Turkey, I aim to identify the social, cultural and linguistic factors shaping their perceptions of Turkish return migrants and making the migrants an out-group within the same ethnic and religious community.

Turkey is the sender of the largest immigrant community in Europe. There are currently more than 3.5 million people with Turkish ethnic origin residing in Europe (İçduygu, 2012), with a majority of these (more than 2 million) residing in Germany (Ehrkamp & Leithner, 2003). This migration flow has not always been unidirectional and has not always ended in the destination country. Approximately 1.5 million emigrants including rejected asylum seekers returned to Turkey between 1980 and 1999 (TÜSIAD, 2006, p. 70). Today, return migration is still an ongoing phenomenon and large numbers of migrants return to Turkey each year for various reasons. Around 40,000 migrants of Turkish origin are reported to return to Turkey from Germany alone every year (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2001). Therefore, migration is an important phenomenon influencing a large number of people in contemporary Turkey and requiring close academic attention.

Although the issues regarding Turkish immigrants in host countries, such as perceived discrimination and stigmatization they are exposed to, are extensively documented in the migration literature, there is very limited research on the stigmatization they experienced in their country of origin. The same tendency of paying more attention and effort to migration context is also observed in government policies. Bilgili (2012, p. 10) maintains that as a country of emigra-

tion, Turkey has been more concerned with the socio-economic and cultural integration of Turkish emigrants in the destination countries; it has, however, not given much attention to the reintegration of its own immigrants at the national level.

Studies on the reintegration of return migrants reveals the importance of majority members' attitudes in terms of sense of belonging of (re)migrants (Ralph, 2012). In studies on Irish return migrants, most respondents reported to have problems due to the negative attitudes of non-migratory Irish peers (Ni Laoire, 2008; Ralph, 2012). Cassorino (2004) also states that, despite its significant influence, the attitudes of the home-country individuals towards returnees as a factor influencing the reintegration of returnees has received very little research attention.

It is documented in the literature that return migrants do not perceive the majority members of the ethnic homeland as an outgroup and therefore they expect to be perceived as members of the national group themselves as well (Davydova & Heikkinen, 2004). However, what returnees experience upon return tends to be in a sharp contrast with these expectations (Jasinkaya-Lahti et al., 2012; Künüroğlu et al., 2015b; Tartakovsky, 2007; Tsuda, 2003). One of the most extensive studies on mainstreamers' attitudes in return a context is conducted on Japanese returnees who encountered anti-immigrant hostility from the local Japanese population (Tsuda, 1998, 2003). Tsuda (1998) maintains that much of the ethnic prejudice toward Brazilian Japanese was based on low perceptions of their social class and social status. As a consequence, the returnees developed a strong Brazilian identity (Tsuda, 2003).

In a study conducted on 48 Turkish return migrants by Künüroğlu and colleagues, perceived discrimination experienced upon return and cultural distance with the majority Turks were reported as crucial aspects influencing the readaptation process of return migrants (Künüroğlu et al., 2015b; see also Chapter 4). The respondents in the study emphasized that either because of the changes they have gone through in their migration context or because of the changes in Turkish culture, they find it hard to fit in Turkish society again. It was also underlined in the study that the stereotype '*almancı*' (German-like) with its negative connotations reminds them that they are 'newcomers', 'others' or 'different' and prevents them from feeling fully belong to their home country. In the current study, the qualitative findings of the previous study, as presented in Chapters 3 and 4 are implemented, in the construction of a questionnaire, to investigate the perspectives of the majority Turkish mainstreamers. Through the survey questionnaire constructed on the basis of the real life experiences of Turkish return migrants, this study sets out to measure the

perceptions of Turkish mainstreamers on Turkish return migrants and reintegration issues.

Most studies exploring the home country attitudes towards return migrants rely on the perspective of the return migrants and their perceptions of being included or excluded (Ni Laoire, 2008; Ralph, 2012). Therefore, this research fills a gap in the literature by focusing on the attitudes of Turkish majority members towards Turkish (re)migrants from the perspective of the Turkish mainstreamers. To my knowledge until now, no quantitative attitudinal surveys on Turkish return migrants have been reported in the literature.

Understanding home-country attitudes towards (re)migrants is crucial for several reasons. First of all, attitudes of home-country individuals towards (re)migrants influence the readjustment processes of returnees. Attitudes held by members of the majority culture towards newcomers are reported to have strong effects on adjustment (Berry, 2005). Return migrants, in societies where majority members hold less favorable attitudes towards them, may experience disorientation, disappointment, and frustration (Berry, 2005). Secondly, the perceptions of rejection and group identification in the country of origin as well as the host country affect the acculturation orientations of the immigrants in the host countries (Badea et al., 2011). Badea and colleagues found that perceived rejection by the people in the country of origin negatively affected Romanian and Moroccan immigrants' identification with the heritage groups, which in turn was an important factor determining their re-acculturation orientations. According to Badea et al. (2011) rejection by the in-group also decreases identification with that group. This affect the extent to which the immigrants desire to maintain their cultural identity, i.e., their separation or integration orientations. Finally, shedding light on the underlying reasons of the stigmatization of migrants may provide a theoretical insight in understanding the dynamics of intergroup relations. It sheds light on the question of why people with the same ethnic and religious background can be seen to belong to different groups as a consequence of migration processes. In the following section, the theories of intergroup relations, social categorization, and the contact hypothesis are discussed in more detail to shed light on the process of stigmatization for return migrants.

5.2.1 Intergroup relations

According to Berry (2004), there are two basic methods to investigate intergroup contacts. The first one focuses on topics like ethnic prejudice, attitudes and stereotypes, which are established in the contemporary social psychology research. The second one is related to acculturation research grounded in cross-

cultural theories. This study combines both lines of research. I examine '*almancı*' stereotype and the dynamics of the relationships between return migrants and Turkish mainstreamers based on the intergroup theories derived from social psychology. Besides, as the study is grounded on the acculturation and reacculturation experiences of Turkish return migrants, I also refer to acculturation theories on intercultural attitudes while discussing the findings.

Research in social psychology examined the role of social categorization to understand the nature of social prejudice (Dovidio et al., 2006). According to Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and Social Categorization Theory (Hogg & Hornsey, 2006; Turner et al., 1987), people, placing the self in the center, categorize the group containing the self as 'ingroup' and other groups as 'outgroup', which eventually shapes the nature and the extent of their the social prejudice. Apart from this cognitive process, there is also a motivational factor, namely the need to consider the ingroup superior to the outgroup, that leads to bias. It is documented that people attempt to achieve a favorable evaluation of the ingroup over respective outgroups. Therefore, positive evaluations of ingroups and lack of positive affect towards outgroups lead to prejudice (Tajfel, 1982).

In examining intergroup attitudes, social comparison forms an important aspect (Arends Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2004) and there are several reasons for evaluation of other groups. Social identity theory perceives it as a way of acquiring a high social status and positive social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Another reason influencing the evaluation of outgroups was posited by Realistic Conflict Theory (Campbell, 1965), which claims that perceptions of competition and threat lead to intergroup prejudice and hostility (Bobo, 1999). It is reported that majority members perceive minorities (especially when they are culturally different) as a threat to their own culture or unity as a society (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998). According to the Contact Hypothesis, what causes people to hold negative attitudes towards a group is the lack of knowledge about that group (Allport, 1954). That is, the prejudice will be eliminated or diminished when two groups are involved in more positive and cooperative contact with each other. According to the Similarity Attraction Hypothesis, when people of different groups perceive members of other groups similar in certain characteristics, they tend to evaluate each other more positively. It is documented in the literature that migrant communities from 'distant' cultures are perceived less favorably than those from similar backgrounds (Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001).

The term prejudice has been defined by different disciplines in several ways but in social psychology literature, it is basically defined as an attitude towards

an outgroup (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). While Allport (1954, p. 9) some scholars have defined prejudice as a "negative attitude, or antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization which may be directed toward a group as a whole or towards individuals because he is a member of that group," Tajfel (1982, p. 3) calls it "a favorable or unfavorable predisposition toward any member of the category in question" (Tajfel, 1982, p. 3). Overseeing the various definitions, three basic components of prejudice have been distinguished: cognitive (opinions and beliefs), affective (feelings and emotions), and conative (behavioral aspect).

Stereotypes constitute the cognitive component of prejudice. People cognitively group prototypes that describe and prescribe perceptions, thoughts, feelings, relationships, and actions that define the ingroup and distinguish it from the respective outgroups (Hogg & Hornsey, 2006). Although the term stereotype has been defined in numerous ways in the literature, I opt for the definition by Oakes, Haslam, and Turner (1994), which describes stereotypes as sets of characteristics ascribed to people on their group membership, as this research is interested in the content of the '*almancı*' stereotype.

Fiske (1992) maintains that the dimension of the stereotypes results from interpersonal and intergroup interactions. When people come into contact with each other they want to know the intent (positive or negative) and capability of each other. Fiske et al. (2002) maintain that not all stereotypes are the same and that not all stereotypes reflect just antipathy but may reflect several dimensions of (dis)like and (dis)respect. The two crucial dimensions are 'warmth' and 'competence', mixed clusters of which lead to different emotions, such as pity, envy, admiration and contempt. For instance, pity is directed to warm but not competent groups (elderly people), while envy targets to competent but not warm groups.

Major and Crocker (1993) state that stereotypes represent an important phenomenon as stereotypes of the stigmatized are frequently justified and contribute to prejudice and discrimination against the stigmatized. Worchel and Rothgerber (1997) argue that the process of stereotyping cannot be considered without its cultural context as it is the culture that determines the centrality of groups and affects the nature of the relationship between individual's perceptions of the self and the groups. They base their argument mostly on the differences between collectivistic and individualistic cultures and they maintain that people in collective cultures perceive a relationship between their personal relationships with that of the ingroups as the individual is perceived as a representative of the group. Whereas in individualistic cultures where group boundaries are not that clearly marked, group membership is more fluid and

therefore there are less ties between personal perceptions and those of the group. Therefore, in more individualistic countries stereotypes of outgroups tend to be less salient.

Theories of intergroup relations attempt to clarify how people from different cultural backgrounds encounter each other and look for ways for mutual understanding and harmonious engagement. Berry (2005) provides a framework for analyzing relations between majority and minority groups in a cultural setting. He maintains that although culture may vary in terms of explicit aspects such as housing, dress, and food, implicit aspects such as beliefs, meanings, ideals, and values (Triandis, 1994) create more issues. Volk (2009) justifies this argument in her study and states that stereotypes organize and simplify complex social realities by inventing and assigning certain values to groups of people defined by religion, ethnicity, or nationality. However, in the case of return migrants with transnational experiences in the West and returning to their Muslim countries in the East, it also involves assigning value judgments such as liberal, radical, moral, and immoral.

This study is novel in many ways. First of all, it is the first quantitative study focusing merely on the perceptions of majority Turkish nationals towards return migrants. The study delves into the conditions in the interactions leading majority Turks in Turkey to ascribing stereotypical identities to return migrants. Further, the study helps to understand the dimensions underlying the cultural differentiation between returnees and Turkish mainstreamers. Although cultures may vary in categorical ways such as the languages spoken and religion that is shared, I address the question of what separates two groups of people sharing the same ethnicity, language and religion. Differently from previous studies, this research take the perspective of the persons or the group who are the target of stigmatization and prejudice while focusing on the beliefs and reactions of the dominant group in society. Grounding the items on the subjective experience of the individuals being stigmatized, I address the themes causing prejudice and leading to stigmatization. Finally, the development of a new instrument for measuring the reaction of Turkish mainstreamers as a new group is also expected to fill a void in the return migration literature.

The Turkish immigration history is important to understand the complex identities, and the 'in-betweenness' experienced by Turkish immigrants and to understand how the '*almancı*' stigma evolved towards Turkish (re)migrants. Therefore, some background information will be provided in the following section on the Turkish immigration history and the evolution of perspectives towards Turkish immigrants in Europe and Turkey.

5.2.2 Turkish immigration history and perspectives on Turkish immigrants in Western countries and in Turkey

Starting from the early 1960s, hundreds of thousands of Turkish workers migrated to European countries (e.g., Abadan-Unat, 2006, 2011; Martin, 1991; TÜSIAD, 2006) starting with the first bilateral labor agreement with West Germany in 1961 and later with Austria, Belgium, and the Netherlands in 1964, with France in 1965, and with Sweden in 1967 (Gökdere, 1978). As all these agreements were based on rotation, the so-called *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers) were expected and mostly expecting to stay for a couple of years and then return to Turkey. However, the rotation principle did not work out for both sides and most Turkish migrants stayed for much longer time periods than they had expected (Abadan-Unat, 2006, 2011). As the labor migration to Europe was regarded as temporary, the migrant workers were not expected to be incorporated in the receiving society at the social economic, political, and cultural levels and therefore their migrants' orientations towards their homeland and keeping strong ties with their country of origin were not perceived as an anomaly (Caglar, 2006). The mismatch between expectations and realities has been stated as one possible reason of the arising tension between the host countries and Turkish immigrants (Kayaalp, 2011, p. 24).

In the early stages of migration, Turkish migrants were mainly uneducated men and later also women from the economically less developed regions of Turkey who planned to stay for a short period to make money and return back to Turkey. They were rather skeptical about the new life style, norms, values and the belief systems in the host countries, and therefore preferred to keep their Muslim and Turkish identity (Erhamp & Leitner, 2003). The experiences of these migrants of older generations can be described by what Pickles (1995, p. 107) refers to as the "frozen clock syndrome", referring to those immigrants who live as if the culture clock stopped the moment they departed from their homeland. They also raised their children in a consistently frozen parental frame (Kayaalp, 2011). Therefore, a rather complex structure of Turkish immigrants and their low social position as low skilled and uneducated migrants from a rural background caused them to be stigmatized as a traditional and religious group, which resists to all social changes and modernity in Western Europe.

Turkish return migration flow occurred in three separate waves up to 1990s. The first two groups returned in the periods of 1966-1967 and 1974-1977 economic recessions. The third large group of people was encouraged to return home in 1983-1984 by means of repatriation polices and return incentives (Martin, 1991, p. 38). Today, return migration is still dynamic process, every year thousands of Turkish immigrant return to Turkey from Western Europe.

The characteristics of return migrants vary depending on when and why they returned. Martin (1991) maintains that Turkish workers who returned home in the mid-1970s were younger immigrants motivated to return by unemployment and more likely to be men living alone in the host country. However, in 1983-1984, over 100.000 Turkish workers and unknown number of their dependents, who were already having an initial return intention or having problems such as schooling dilemmas, returned to Turkey making it an easy process by return incentive programs (DPT, 2001; Martin 1991). It is stated that the returnees who returned to Turkey after receiving financial incentives in the 1980s mostly 'burned their passports' (with their own terminology) which means that they lost the permission to live in or even to travel to European country without visa. Today, the profiles of the returnees are rather different from the past. Kaya & Kentel (2008) state that Turkish immigrants and their children in Western Europe can no longer be perceived as temporary immigrant group and have little in common with the guest-worker stereotype of the past. Therefore, recently, a different group of Turkish migrants has started to return to Turkey. According to Adaman and Kaya (2012), it is now the first time that return migration involves qualified middle and upper middle class migrants of Turkish origin. Every year 8,000 Turkish-origin immigrants and mostly their children who are attracted by the booming economy of Turkey return to Turkey to be employed in different sectors varying from automotive to tourism industries. In addition, these returnees keep their rights in the Western European countries and travel freely and spend varying amount of their times in both countries during the year.

Even though Turkish migrants in Western Europe have gone through certain processes, underwent quite a transformation in their host countries, and formed transnational communities travelling and communicating between two countries, they have been addressed with terms that underlie the meaning of 'otherness' both in their country of origin and in Europe. In Germany, to illustrate, they are called '*Gastarbeiter*' (guest worker) or '*Ausländer*' (foreigner) reflecting the idea of otherness even if they hold German passports. In Turkey, they are defined as '*gurbetçi*' and '*almanci*', which have negative connotations as being 'germanized' 'nouveau riche' (rich and spoiled), 'losing Turkishness and religious values'.

Kayaalp (2011) maintains that Turkish immigrant youths in Europe experience 'in-betweenness' not only due to the exclusion experienced in the host country but also from their own families as well as from the country of origin. The '*almancı*' (German-like) stigma creates an ambiguous status of belonging to anywhere and nowhere at the same time; neither being able to

identify with the host country identity nor being able to fit into Turkish identity. Therefore, their complex identities and permanent uncertainties about whether they are 'traditional or modern', 'Eastern or Western', 'a reproduction of their parent or a new generation', and different expectations and norms contribute to exclusion of Turkish youth back at home as well.

Although there are few studies focusing on motives for Turkish return migration (Aydin, 2012; Razum et. al., 2005) and post return experiences of remigrants (Doğan, 1990; Kuruuzum, 2002; Tufan, 1987), there is a gap in the field elucidating the intergroup relations between return migrants and Turkish mainstreamers. This study is designed to investigate how Turkish migrants and return migrants are received in Turkey; the way the research questions are formulated is described in the following section.

5.3 The present research

The present study investigated the perceptions of majority Turkish mainstreamers towards Turkish return migrants. Specifically, it focused on the underlying dimensions of the '*almancı*' stereotype and the factors influencing the attitudes of majority Turks towards return migrants in Turkey. More specifically, the study set out to answer the following research questions:

1 What are the underlying dimensions of Turkish mainstreamers' attitudes towards Turkish return migrants in Turkey?
2 What are the associations between Turkish mainstreamers' background variables and their attitudes towards Turkish return migrants in Turkey?

5.4 Methodology

5.4.1 Approach

Given the multilayered and double-sided nature of stigmatization in return migration, I adopted a mixed methods approach for the investigation. The main part of the qualitative data were collected from Turkish return migrants in my previous study (Künüroğlu et al., 2015a, 2015b; see also Chapter 3 and Chapter 4), and the second part of the qualitative data was collected from majority Turkish nationals by using semi-structured in-depth interviews which allowed informants to freely narrate their experiences, observations and ideas. The analysis of the qualitative data was carried out based on inductive content analysis procedures (Thomas, 2006). This enabled me to ground the items for the survey, which I conducted to collect quantitative data, on the real life

experiences of the respondents. The content analysis approach also allowed me to combine both qualitative and quantitative perspectives on the data (Neuendorf, 2002; Weber, 1990).

The quantitative part of the data is collected by means of a survey questionnaire that was developed on the basis of the results of the qualitative analysis. Namely, the items for the questionnaire were generated on the basis of responses and perspectives of participants in the qualitative study. The mixed method approach also enabled us to extend the logic of qualitative explanation helping to think creatively and 'outside the box' (Mason, 2006).

5.4.2 Participants

For the qualitative part of this study, five mainstream Turkish nationals were interviewed (apart from 48 Turkish return migrants of the previous studies; see in Chapters 3 and 4). Out of five participants, three were male and two were female (Mage = 50 years). Three participants were from the Aegean region, one from Central Anatolia and one from Southeast Turkey. Three respondents were university graduates and two were primary school graduates. All respondents had contacts, either family member, relative, or neighbor that migrated to one of Western European countries Germany, the Netherlands, or France and returned to Turkey.

The survey questionnaire was filled in by a total of 606 respondents. To be able to get the perspectives only of mainstream Turkish nationals, people who had personal return migration experiences were excluded from the study. In addition, the questionnaire was administered only to people who reside in Turkey. The occupational classification of the respondents was conducted by using ISCO-08; International Standard Classification of Occupations, (ILO, 2012). The individual characteristics of the respondents are displayed in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Demographic characteristics of the participants (N = 606)

Characteristic	**N**	**%**
Gender		
Female	327	54.0
Male	279	46.0
Age (in years)		
< 30	265	43.7
30-45	227	37.5
> 46	112	18.5
Education		
Primary to high school	60	9.9
University and/or higher	546	90.1
Occupation		
Armed office occupations, managers, professionals	400	66.0
Technicians and associate professionals, clerical support workers, service and sales worker	31	5.1
Skilled worker, craft related worker, motor vehicles, elementary occupations	31	5.1
Other (student, housewife, retired, unemployed)	144	23.8
Place of residence		
Aegean, Marmara, Mediterranean regions – Western Turkey	434	71.6
Mid-Anatolia, North Sea regions – Mid-Turkey	130	21.5
East Anatolia and Southeast Anatolia regions – Eastern Turkey	42	6.9
Knowledge of a person who migrated to Western Europe		
Yes	523	86.3
No	83	13.7
Relationship with the person who migrated to Western Europe		
Family member	102	16.8
Relative	304	50.2
Friend	195	32.2
Neighbor	109	18.0
Acquaintances	146	24.1
Service taker (e.g., customer, patient, etc.)	24	4.0

Western country that the person known immigrated to		
Germany	431	71.1
The Netherlands	120	19.8
France	116	19.1
Other	117	19.3
Knowledge of a person who migrated to an returned from Western Europe		
Yes	409	67.5
No	196	32.3
Relationship with the person who migrated to and returned from Western Europe		
Family member	67	11.1
Relative	204	33.7
Friend	110	18.2
Neighbor	74	12.2
Acquaintances	113	18.6
Service taker (e.g., customer, patient, etc.)	8	1.3

Note The numbers of expressions in second column for the last five questions do not add up to the total sample size as informants could provide any number of relevant statements. The third column indicates the percentage of the total sample with a statement in the category.

5.4.3 Procedure

The participants for the interviews were approached through snowball sampling. Before starting the interviews, I asked the respondents for their informed consent for taping the conversation and using it for research purposes. For the participants who are return migrants (N = 48), the interviews started with a broad invitation to describe to the interviewer the immigration and return experiences. Key areas explored during the semi-structured interviews were reasons for migration, experiences during the migration period, reasons for return migration, and issues encountered as well as resources and strategies to deal with those issues in the post return period. The participants who are majority Turkish nationals (N = 5) are asked to describe their views and experiences regarding Turkish return migrants. To be able to have a complete picture, the questions were asked to understand how mainstream Turkish nationals perceive return migrants, their experiences of migration, reasons for return and their socio-cultural readaptation back in Turkey. They were en-

couraged to freely narrate their experiences, tell anecdotes, and express their experiences and opinions.

The participants of the survey questionnaire (N = 606) were approached through personal networks, snowball sampling and social media. Out of 606 respondents, a total of 105 respondents the questionnaire as a hard copy. The rest of the respondents completed the questionnaire online through the link to the questionnaire using Qualtrics. It took approximately 20-25 minutes to fill out the questionnaire.

5.4.4 Instrument

The questionnaire used in the study was developed based on the narrations in the interviews. Application of the qualitative findings in Chapters 3 and 4, personal experiences of the respondents regarding discrimination issues as well as their opinions on the '*almancı*' stigma was implemented in the construction of the questionnaire. The questionnaire consisted of three parts. The initial part asked for information about demographics, the second part consisted of scales for measuring attitudes towards return migrants and reintegration issues, and the third part contained open-ended questions in which participants were requested to write their connotations of the word '*gurbetçi*', referring to someone who lives in '*gurbet*' that is in a different place than he or she is born, to earn a living.[4] (For the differences between the words '*almancı*' and '*gurbetçi*', see also Kaya & Kentel, 2008, p. 6.)

There are three reasons why an original questionnaire was developed for measuring attitudes to return migrants. Firstly, I aimed to link my measure to the real life experiences and opinions of the respondents who went through the return migration experience or experience of having contact with return migrants, as I studied previously. Secondly, I aimed to include all the implicit and explicit aspects of cultural elements specific to Turkish mainstreamers and return migrants to reflect on country specific dynamics. Finally, I aimed to ensure consistency of item and response formats, not using separate scales from different studies, which might be highly inappropriate for Turkish cultural context. To my knowledge, in Turkish migration literature, there is no measure developed yet to assess attitudes towards return migrants.

All measures and instructions were developed and administered in Turkish.

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[4] Contemporary Dictionary of Turkish Language Institute (see: http://www.tdk.gov.tr).

5.4.4.1 Demographics

In the first part of the survey, the participants were asked to provide information on their age, education, occupation, place of residence, marital status, knowledge of migrants who migrated and/or returned from Western European countries, and their relationship with these migrants. Demographic characteristics of the respondents are displayed in Table 5.1.

5.4.4.2 Attitudes towards return migrants

To assess the attitudes of majority Turkish nationals towards return migrants, I included items generated on the basis of responses in the interviews. Due to the extensive amount of reflections and wide range of themes obtained from the interviews, 18 scales referring to 18 different themes were established. All the scales use 5-point Likert response scales in which the participants are asked to indicate their level of agreement, ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5). All items and scales are tested in a pilot study with 20 participants. Scale characteristics are displayed in Table 5.2.

Two scales were used to assess perceptions about characteristics of return migrants. A five-item scale was developed to measure perceived *negative characteristics of return migrants* in which the respondents indicated their level of agreement about negative attributes that they believe return migrants possess (e.g., "Turkish migrants who return from Europe show off with their richness/ affluence when they return") and a four-item scale was developed to measure perceived *positive characteristics of return migrants* in which the participants reported on their agreement on the favorable predispositions towards the group (e.g., "Turkish migrants who return from Europe are hardworking people").

Two scales were used to assess perceived socio-economic influences of return migrants on Turkey. A three-item scale was developed to measure perceived *negative socio-economic influence of return migrants* in which the items reflected country specific dynamics and the respondents were asked to respond on their perceptions on the negative socio-economic influence (e.g., "I believe that Turkish migrants who migrated to Western Europe (e.g., Germany and France) increase the housing prices in the places they return") and a four-item scale was developed to measure perceived *positive socio-economic influence of return migrants on Turkey* (e.g., "I believe that Turkish migrants who migrated to Western Europe (e.g., Germany and France) create new employment opportunities in the places they return").

Two scales were used to assess the perceptions of the respondents about the influence of the migration experience on their perceived characteristics of return migrants. The narrations of the interviewees resulted in divergent findings

regarding the perceived influence of migration experience on return migrants. Therefore, one four-item scale was developed to assess *modern orientations of return migrants due to migration experience* (e.g., "Turkish migrants who return from Europe return having become more open minded compared to the time they migrated to Europe") and one two-item scale was developed to assess *traditional orientations of return migrants due to migration experience* (e.g., "Turkish migrants who return from Europe are more conservative when they return compared to the time they migrated").

A seven-item scale was developed to assess the degree of *social contact* that the mainstream Turkish nationals have with return migrants. The respondents stated their level of agreement on the items stating how well they know return migrants (e.g., "In my spare time, I go to places, such as clubs, tea-houses with my migrant friends").

In the interviews, the respondents extensively reflected on the connotations of the '*almancı*' stereotype. The reflections are categorized under three themes; one four-item scale was developed to assess *finance related almancı connotations* (e.g., "I believe the word '*almancı*' has the connotation of nouveau riche"), one five-item scale was developed to assess *ethnolinguistic related 'almancı' connotations* (e.g., "I believe the word '*almancı*' has the connotation of having lost Turkishness"), and one eight-item scale was developed to assess *social position related 'almancı' connotations* (e.g., "I believe the word '*almancı*' has the connotation of belonging to a lower class").

As well as reflecting on the connotations of the word '*almancı*' and '*gurbetçi*', the respondents also commented on the content and influence of the words on themselves or return migrants in general. A three-item scale was developed measuring the perceived influence of *the word 'almancı' as a discriminatory word* (e.g., "I believe the word '*almanci*' is an expression that hurts return migrants") and a five-item scale was developed to assess the content and the perceived influence of *the word 'gurbetçi' as a discriminatory word* (e.g., "I believe the word '*gurbetçi*' expresses positive emotion").

A seven-item scale was developed to assess the perceptions about the perceived discrimination experience upon return. The respondents were asked to respond on their perceptions on the various causes of the *return discrimination experience* (e.g., "I believe Turkish migrants who migrated to Western Europe are excluded in Turkey as they always overrate the Western countries in their speech").

The reflections on the reintegration processes of return migrants are categorized under two themes. A three-item scale was developed to assess re-integration issues regarding *social interaction difficulties* (e.g., "Turkish

migrants who return from Europe have a hard time communicating with people who are not their close relatives when they return") and one four-item scale was developed on reintegration issues regarding *negative outcomes of return decision* (e.g., "Turkish migrants who return from Europe regret when they return to Turkey").

One emerging theme in the narrations pointed at the failure of expectations in terms of adaptation skills of the Turkish migrants in Western European countries. The participants in the interviews made remarks on their perceptions of migrants as misfits in the migrated countries. A seven-item scale was developed to assess perceptions of respondents on *low adaptation skills of return migrants in the migration context* (e.g., "Turkish migrants who migrated to Europe, in the immigrated countries and at the times they were immigrants cause Western people to have prejudice against Turks in Europe").

In the narrations, norms, and expectations of Turkish return migrants emerged as one of fundamental issues between the groups and were categorized under two scales. One three-item scale was developed to assess *ethnolinguistic-related norms and expectations* (e.g., "I believe that Turkish migrants who migrated to Western Europe should speak Turkish well") and one four-item scale was developed to assess *socio-cultural characteristics related norms and expectations* (e.g., "I believe that Turkish migrants who migrated to Western Europe should be more open-minded than they are now").

Table 5.2 Scale characteristics

Scale	Length	M (SD)	Explained variance in EFA	α
Positive characteristics of return migrants	4	2.62 (.72)	53%	.70
Negative characteristics of return migrants	5	2.83 (.83)	57%	.81
Positive socio-economic influence of return migrants on Turkey	4	3.07 (.84)	55%	.73
Negative socio-economic influence of return migrants on Turkey	3	3.35 (.84)	36%	.69
Modern orientations of return migrants due to migration experience	4	3.44 (.79)	52%	.68

Traditional orientations of return migrants due to migration experience	2	3.22 (.96)	72%	.62
Social contact	7	2.85 (.99)	66%	.91
'*Almancı*' connotations – finance related	4	2.41 (.83)	54%	.71
'*Almancı*' connotations – ethnolinguistic related	5	2.50 (.82)	49%	.74
'*Almancı*' connotations – social position related	8	2.16 (.85)	56%	.89
The word '*gurbetçi*' as a discriminatory word	5	2.49 (.86)	59%	.80
The word '*almancı*' as a discriminatory word	3	3.43 (1.09)	81%	.89
Return discrimination experience	7	2.84 (.71)	40%	.79
Reintegration issues – social interaction difficulties	3	2.48 (.85)	66%	.73
Reintegration issues – negative outcomes of return decision	4	3.19 (.76)	47%	.61
Low adaptation Skills of return migrants in migration context	7	3.38 (.74)	45%	.72
Norms and expectations – ethnolinguistic related	3	3.84 (.89)	71%	.79
Norms and expectations – socio-cultural characteristics related	4	3.76 (.79)	55%	.72

5.5 Results

5.5.1 Preliminary analyses

Before the main analysis, exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was carried out on all individual scales to establish their (uni-)dimensionality. The expected structure was found in all scales. Reliabilities (Cronbach's alpha), means and explained variance for each scale are displayed in Table 5.2. All internal consistencies were above .60 and most were above .70. These values were deemed adequate.

Next, an EFA is conducted on the scale means in order to examine the global structure of all attitudes vis-à-vis return migration. Three interpretable factors emerged, which are (1) positive perceptions on return migrants and reintegration issues, (2) negative perceptions on return migrants and reintegration attitudes, and (3) the reasons of conflict, explaining 44% of the variance. Factor loadings of the 18 scales are presented in Table 5.3. On the first factor, there were the scales measuring return discrimination experiences, '*almancı*' connotations, reintegration issues, negative socioeconomic influence of return migrants on Turkey and negative characteristic of return migrants; these are labeled as negative perceptions on return migrants and reintegration issues. On the second factor, scales with strong loadings were measuring positive characteristics of return migrants, modern orientations of return migrants due to migration experience, positive socio-economic influence of return migrants on Turkey and social contact; these are labelled as positive perceptions on return migrants and reintegration issues. On the third factor, scales with salient loadings were measuring norms and expectations, low adaptation skills of return migrants in migration context and traditional orientations of return migrants due to migration experience; these are labelled as reasons for conflict.

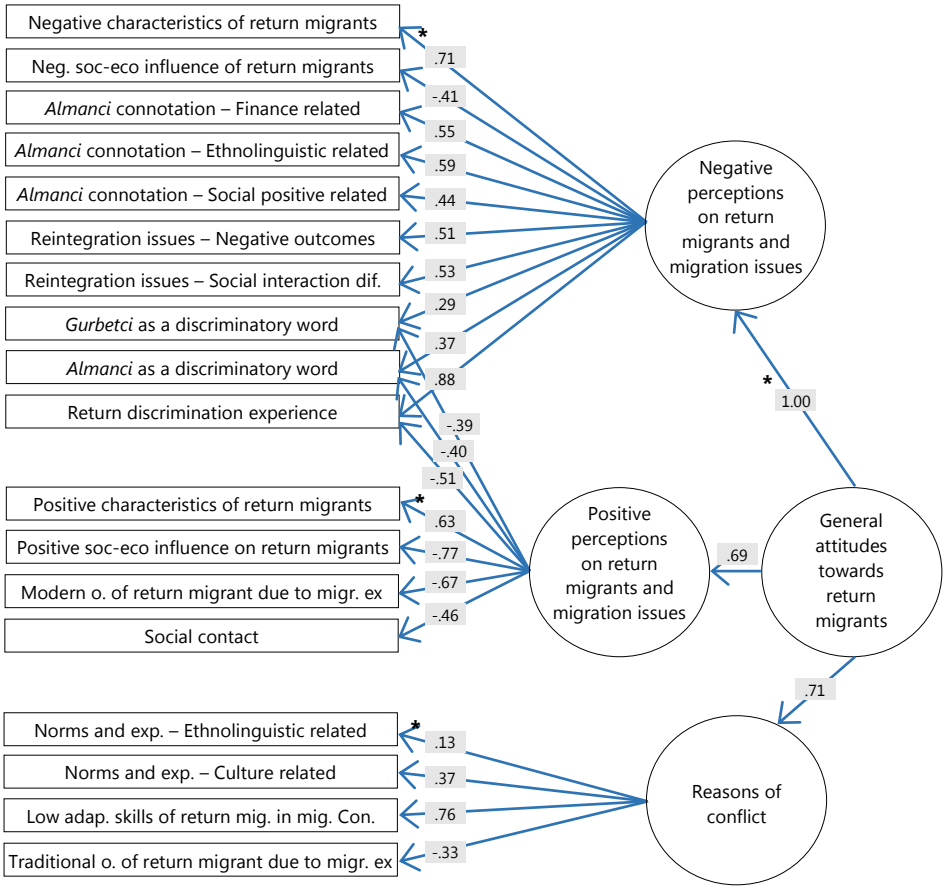
Table 5.3 Factor loadings (standardized) of the 18 scales

Scales	**Factor loadings**		
	Negative perceptions	**Positive perceptions**	**Reason for conflict**
Return discrimination experience	.70		
Reintegration issues – negative outcomes of return decision	.65		
'*Almancı*' connotations – ethnolinguistic related	.61		.31
'*Almancı*' connotations – finance related	.58		.28
Negative characteristics of return migrants	.55	.43	
'*Almancı*' connotations – social position related	.55		
Reintegration issues – social interaction difficulties	.55		
The word '*gurbetçi*' as a discriminatory word	.50	.32	.32
The word '*almancı*' as a discriminatory word	.46	.45	

Negative socio-economic influence of return migrants on Turkey	-.32	.30	
Positive characteristics of return migrants		-.71	
Modern orientations of return migrants due to migration experience		.69	
Positive socio-economic influence of return migrants on Turkey		.69	
Social contact		.53	
Norms and expectations – socio-cultural characteristics related			.71
Norms and expectations – ethnolinguistic related			.66
Low adaptation skills of return migrants in migration context	.43		.47
Traditional orientations of return migrants due to migration experience			.33

5.5.2 Model test SEM

Using MPlus 7 (Muthén & Muthén, 2012), I set out to confirm the factorial structure depicted in Figure 5.1. The modification indices suggested the inclusion of correlations among error terms of certain items to improve the model fit. These suggested correlations were among finance related, ethnolinguistic related and social position related '*almancı*' connotations; between '*almanci*' as a discriminatory word and '*gurbetçi*' as a discriminatory word; between reintegration issues regarding social interaction difficulties and reintegration issues regarding negative outcomes of return decision; between ethnolinguistic related norms and expectations and sociocultural characteristics related norms and expectations; and between modern orientations of return migrants due to migration experience and traditional orientations of return migrants due to migration experience to improve model fit. Given that these correlations were semantically meaningful, I allowed correlated errors among the constructs stated above. In addition, three scales had loadings on two factors (as indicated by the modification indices). The scales '*almancı*' as a discriminatory word, '*gurbetçi*' as a discriminatory word and return discrimination experience loaded on the factors labelled both positive and negative perceptions on return migrants and reintegration issues. With these adaptations, I reached a modest fit for the model, $\chi^2(225, N = 606) = 429.135$, $p < .001$, $\chi^2/df = 1.907$, TLI = 0.824, CFI = .848; RMSEA = 0.055; SRMR = .055 (see Figure 5.1).



*Fixed at a value of 1.00 in the model

Figure 5.1 Factorial structure of general perceptions towards return migrants (all loadings are significant, $p < .10$)

In the next step, I examined the associations between general attitudes towards return migrants and demographic variables (age, educational level, regional differences, knowledge of a migrant and social status, and the perceptions of return migrants). The analysis yielded that there is a relationship between age and general attitudes and there is a significant relationship between social status of the respondents and their general attitudes towards return migrants. The correlations and p-values are reported in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4 Associations between individual characteristics and general attitudes towards return migrants

General attitudes towards return migrants	*β*	*p*
Gender	.001	.991
Age	.0125	.062
Residential category	.046	.492
Educational category	-.085	.181
Occupational category	-.192	.004
Knowledge of migrant	.012	.854

5.5.3 Connotations of the word '*gurbetçi*'

The analysis of the open ended part of the questionnaire in which the respondents reflected on the connotations of the word '*gurbetçi*' revealed that the content of the word can be divided into three main themes: expressions reflecting inclusiveness, expressions reflecting exclusiveness, and expressions reflecting mercy and pity. It was found that the expressions reflecting inclusiveness and pity were considerably more than the expressions reflecting exclusiveness. The connotations reflecting mercy and pity included expressions like "who are pitiful and deserve our mercy", "who were despised upon return", "having to leave home and family". It was noticed that to express and even emphasize pity, the respondents picked certain words or expressions that have more emotional or even sacred connotations like '*ekmek*' (bread), or '*anavatan*' (motherland) in Turkish culture rather than expressing them literally. To illustrate, the majority of respondents used the expression "who had to leave family and home for bread" rather than putting it as 'who migrated for economic reasons'. The expressions of inclusiveness mainly included expressions as "our Turkish citizens" and "our own people". The expressions of exclusiveness mostly reflected the low social position of the migrants. The connotation in this dimension mostly referred to themes such as perceived in-betweenness, low educational level, low level of Turkish and low adaptive skills of the migrants.

5.6 Discussion and conclusion

In this chapter, I examined the perceptions of majority Turkish nationals towards Turkish return migrants from Western Europe. I aimed to elucidate the underlying dynamics of the '*almancı*' stigma and to shed light on predictors of those perceptions and investigate the relationship between individual character-

istics (age, gender, knowledge of migrants, educational status, and social status) and the general perceptions towards return migrants. A mixed methods approach was used in the study, and a survey questionnaire was constructed on the basis of interviews with 53 participants. The survey was conducted on 606 respondents and the results revealed that there are three underlying dimensions of the general perceptions towards return migrants.

According to the results of the exploratory factor analysis that I conducted, there is a general attitude, which has three components, towards return migration and reintegration issues. I labelled the three dimensions as positive perceptions towards return migrants and reintegration issues, negative perceptions towards return migrants and reintegration issues, and the reasons for conflict. The reasons of conflict mainly cover norms and expectations towards return migrants. Even though the results of the exploratory factor analysis revealed three factors, confirmatory factor analysis showed that three scales had loadings on two factors. This is not unexpected given the interrelated nature of the content, which is general perceptions towards return migrants. One of the reasons leading to double loadings in several items is the multifaceted nature of intergroup attitudes and the semantic loads of the return migrant stigmatization. In the Turkish context, the general perceptions towards return migrants involve both inclusive and exclusive aspects. According to Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and Social Categorization Theory (Turner et al., 1987; Hogg & Hornsey 2006), people, placing the self in the center, categorize the group containing the self as, 'ingroup' and other groups as 'outgroup' which eventually shapes the nature and the extent of social prejudice. However, Turkish return migrants, who share the same ethnicity, religion and language with majority group members were perceived in a way as ingroup, but at the same time the perceived social distance resulting from the migration experience made them an outgroup. The social distance perceived with returnees results from the acculturation experience the migrants went through in the migration context. Turkish people perceive that return migrants have adopted several characteristics, norms and values of the Western countries such as being direct, punctual or individualistic. Therefore, in a way return migrants are perceived as ingroup sharing the same history, language and religion but at the same time they are perceived as a culturally different group having different norms, values and orientations.

The result of the open-ended part on the connotations of the word '*gurbetçi*' was also consistent with the above argument. Although the term '*gurbetçi*' has also stigmatizing elements, it also carries the connotations of inclusiveness as well as more sympathy and pity. I can conclude that the word '*gurbetçi*'

includes fewer discriminatory elements compared to the word '*almancı*' and that it even reflects more solidarity. The difference between these concepts clearly marks the divergence and the convergence with respective groups. The qualitative and the quantitative parts of the questionnaire converged as far as the distinction between positive and negative aspects of attitudes towards return migrants is concerned. However, the qualitative part showed a different additional aspect revealing the themes of 'mercy' and 'pity' while the quantitative sections revealed sources of conflict as an additional domain.

The divergence and convergence between groups are also in line with previous research and theory in the literature. As Fiske and her colleagues (2002) maintain, there are several dimensions of stereotyping and the mixed cluster of the dimensions such as 'warmth' and 'competence' leading to different emotions, such as pity, envy, admiration and contempt. For instance, if I examine the items generated on the basis of the narrations, Turkish nationals appreciated the hard work and the difficulties due to split family situations that the migrants tolerated for many years, but at the same time, they found the migrants incompetent in many aspects like integrating in the migration context or raising the children according to Turkish norms and values – the latter might be the ones with more implied mercy. On the other hand, Turkish mainstreamers who had positive opinions about the accomplishments of the migrants in migration context and upon return (e.g., who found that they were very hardworking in the migration context, and provided good opportunities for their children upon return, and who thought that they are not culturally distant and easy to communicate with) might be said to hold admiration towards return migrants. However, as mentioned before, the inter-group attitudes are a multilayered and multifaceted phenomenon and it is not really possible to explain the underlying reasons of the attitudes and feelings with one single aspect.

In the analysis, the tested model confirmed that age positively and social status negatively predicts perceptions towards return migrants. This finding is also in line with my expectations as the older people are more likely to have more contact with the first generation migrants who are more likely to be the target of the '*almancı*' stereotype. As it is stated in the literature, the profiles of contemporary Turkish immigrants are quite different from the guest worker stereotype of the past who were mainly uneducated man and then women from economically less developed regions of Turkey (Kaya, 2005). Today Turkish immigrants in Western Europe, especially the third generation, are actively speaking both languages and are actively involved in the dynamic business sector and Turkish social life. As for the influence of social status, it is doc-

umented in the literature that there is a positive association between social economic status and socially desirable responses.

No significant relationship was found between the individual characteristics, gender, knowledge of migrants, educational status and regional differences and the attitudes towards return migrants. One possible explanation is that the respondents might be cautious to state their opinions about return migrants, which is a culturally sensitive topic. Some respondents filling the questionnaire as hard copy even reported their concerns about reporting and misrepresenting the migrants in Europe if the study is published. Social desirability bias is more likely to occur in such sensitive topics (Lalwani et al., 2006). The cultural context of Turkey might also be influential in response decisions of participants in the sense that people tend to respond in a more socially favorable manner in collectivistic cultures (King & Bruner, 2000).

I am aware of the limitation of my study that the majority of the sample was educated men and women with a high status in society. In addition, as the questionnaire asked for self-reports, the respondents might have had a tendency to give socially desirable answers in order not to seem to be prejudiced. In future research, an Implicit Association Test (Greenwald et. al., 1998) can be opted to assess the attitudes of people. Besides, a follow-up study can be conducted in the rural areas where the majority are less educated and have lower social positions in society.

In my contribution, I address the perceptions of the majority Turks in Turkey about Turkish return migrants. Since Turkish ethnic attitudes towards Turkish return migrants are complex and varied, I make no pretenses that the results can be generalized to the Turkish populace as a whole or can be somehow viewed as representative of the entire spectrum of the Turkish opinion. I will not attempt to argue that these participants' perceptions generalize to all Turks in Turkey. I will argue, however, that the findings contribute in important ways to understanding the perceptions of the non-trivial segment of the population that is mostly educated men and women.

To sum up, this chapter addressed the perceptions of majority Turkish nationals towards Turkish return migrants from Western Europe. The results showed that the perceptions towards returnees can be subsumed under three dimensions. Turkish locals have both inclusive and exclusive attitudes towards return migrants, that is, they hold both positive and negative attitudes towards return migrants and reintegration issues. Further, the main reasons of conflict, emerging in the interaction of the groups, were ethnolinguistic- and culture-related norms and expectations. Future studies involving return migrants from

other countries can help to reveal to what extent the themes extend beyond Turkish return migrants.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion and discussion

6.1 Introduction

Due to increased mobility over the last decades, intercultural contacts have increased and the ensuing demographic changes have raised many practical and theoretical issues. In view of its great importance in everyday life, in particular the impact of immigration on receiving societies and immigrants has received close academic attention. The process of cultural change, labeled *acculturation*, has largely been examined and extensively documented in the literature. However, the processes of return migrants' experiences are still poorly understood.

The primary aim of this study was to gain more insight into the return migration experiences of Turkish return migrants from Western Europe. The study used a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods to get insight in the return migration experiences of Turkish migrants who decided to return to Turkey after having lived in Germany, France, and the Netherlands for some years up to some generations. In the qualitative part, I focused on the return motives of Turkish return migration through their personal narratives. The qualitative part also concentrated on the post-return processes of return migrants that are examined again through personal narratives. In both parts, central themes in the narratives are explored from an intergenerational perspective. In the quantitative part, a self-constructed questionnaire was used that was based on the findings of the qualitative studies (see Chapters 3 and 4) to explore the perceptions of majority Turkish nationals towards return migrants.

This dissertation set out to address three overarching research questions:

1 Why do Turkish migrants return from Western Europe to Turkey?
2 What are the consequences of their return?
3 How are Turkish return migrants received by Turkish mainstreamers upon their return in Turkey?

These three overarching questions are further specified in related chapters. In the following, I summarize the main findings from each chapter and the answers they provide for specific and overall research questions.

6.2 Overview of the findings

In Chapter 2, a review of research on return migration of traditional migrants was conducted (see also Künüroğlu, Van de Vijver & Yağmur, 2015c), and the main theoretical issues, as well as major studies and their findings are described. Findings from numerous studies revealed that although return migration has been studied by several disciplines, such as economy, sociology, geography, and psychology, it is still rather under-theorized (Cassorino, 2004; Rogers, 1984). Besides, most attempts to theorize return migration involve its incorporation or application to general theories of migration (King & Christou, 2008).

The review section, I have identified the strengths and the weaknesses of each theory on the basis of an extensive literature review. Initially, economic approaches, i.e., Neoclassical Economics and the New Economics of Labor Migration, explain return migration emphasizing that it is either a failure (Todaro, 1969) or success (Constant & Massey, 2002; Stark, 1991) of initial economic goals. However, their focusing on merely economic factors and overlooking social, institutional, and psychological factors as well as attempting to explain return migration as a simplistic success-failure phenomenon are main shortcomings of these theories. The structural approach proposes that return is guided by situational and structural factors and analyzes success or failure correlating home country economy and society with the expectations of the returnee (Gmelch, 1980). Although the theory takes contextual factors in home and host countries into account in explaining return motivations, it provides almost no information about the post return processes of return migrants. The transnationalism approach emphasizes the importance of social and economic links that span across sending and receiving countries and therefore does not perceive neither migration nor return as an end point. Although the theory provides rich insight emphasizing the role of 'belonging' to ethnic community and homeland attachment in return decisions (Cassorino, 2004), it says very little about the return of subsequent generations (King & Christou, 2008). The psychological line of research on return migration is more interested in the individual level of changes in the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors (Sussman, 2010), in particular, regarding to what happens to individuals who are socialized in one culture and then attempt to move to another cultural context (Berry, 1997). However, one of the most widely used acculturation models, Berry's

(1997) *acculturation model* was found to provide only limited insight in the experiences of return migration as the characteristics of return migration are rather different from migration experience. Sussman's (2010) Cultural Identity Model, which emphasizes the influence of identity shift experienced by immigrants and realized upon return, does not provide a theoretical framework either that can be empirically tested for different generations of traditional immigrants in a remigration process.

As I have reported in the literature review, there are still many unanswered questions in the field of return migration. First of all, the theoretical conceptualizations of return migration and reacculturation are not clear. Besides, the theoretical reacculturation models have not been tested systematically in empirical studies. In addition, methodological issues in reacculturation research are largely unexplored and it is often unclear how to apply reacculturation research in practice.

In Chapter 3, I investigated the motives for Turkish return migration from Germany, the Netherlands, and France with an intergenerational perspective. The data were collected through semi-structured face to face interviews with 48 Turkish return migrants and analyzed using a qualitative approach and inductive content analysis. The results revealed that the ambition to return to Turkey had already been present when migrating from Turkey, perceived discrimination in Western Europe and a strong sense of belonging to Turkey play the most essential roles in return decisions.

In Chapter 4, the main goal was to explore the post-return experiences of Turkish return migrants using the same sample as in Chapter 3, and find out major themes emerging in the readaptation period of the migrants. The study used a qualitative approach and inductive content analysis to get insight into the factors influencing (re)adaptation of Turkish return migrants. The findings revealed that perceived discrimination, cultural distance with mainstream Turks and children-related issues experienced after return emerged as major themes in the returnee's narratives. Informants' self-reports showed that re-adaptation difficulties varied substantially across generations and the socioeconomic status of the informants.

In Chapter 5, I investigated the perceptions of majority Turks in Turkey towards Turkish (re)migrants from West European countries. The study explored the themes and issues emerging in the cultural contact of (re)migrants with the Turks back in Turkey and aimed to get insight in the dimensions of the perceived stigmatization of Turkish (re)migrants. The qualitative findings of Chapters 3 and 4 and in addition, the analysis of the interviews with five majority mainstream Turkish nationals were implemented in the construction of

a survey questionnaire. The questionnaire, investigating the underlying dimensions of the '*almancı*' stereotype, was filled in by 606 Turkish national mainstreamers. The results of the study revealed that perceptions towards return migrants have three different dimensions. The dimensions are positive attitudes on return migrants and reintegration processes, negative attitudes on return migrants and reintegration attitudes, and sources of conflict. The main reasons of conflict between groups were found to stem from failure to abide by normative and behavioral expectations. In particular, ethnolinguistic and sociocultural characteristics related norms and expectations of Turkish mainstreamers, perceived low adaptation skills of immigrants in Western context and finally the traditional orientations of return migrants after their migration experience were found to create conflict between the two groups.

6.3 Discussion and theoretical implications

The Turkish case provides a good example of traditional migration due to its long history as the largest non-European immigrant group in Europe and the characteristics of its members migrating from underdeveloped parts of Turkey to urban European cities mainly for economic purposes. The findings reported above help us to identify general characteristics of Turkish remigrants and to understand, from an intergenerational perspective, the processes the migrants go through in both immigration and return contexts, leading to a deeper understanding of the internal dynamics of Turkish return migration.

The first qualitative part of the thesis which investigated the motivations of Turkish return migrants reveal that taking the decision to return is not as straightforward for Turkish immigrants as their initial migration decision to Western Europe (see Künüroğlu et al., 2015a). The narrations touch on numerous themes ranging from economic reasons such as the deteriorated economic conditions in the migration context or recent improvements in the economy of Turkey to personal ones such as wanting the children to pursue education in Turkey. The findings show us that return should not be perceived as a decision triggered by just one motive for Turkish return migrants as the decision is mostly taken due to many interrelated reasons which makes return migrations a rather multi-layered and multi-causal process. Beyond all these factors, it is worth highlighting that in the narratives the return is commonly perceived and described by most participants as a very natural, expected, and inevitable part of their migration story and their life in general. The participants feel emotionally and ethnically belonging to Turkey, and to express deep loyalty to their family and 'home'. The findings are in line with the findings of earlier studies showing

that immigrants who have a pre-existing sense of belonging to their home society may idealize life in the ethnic homeland, at least at the premigration stage (e.g., Tartakovsky, 2008). Wessendorf (2007) also states that the dream of returning 'home' is a prominent characteristic of sojourners' identities.

The findings highlight the importance of the immigrants' socio-political context in Western Europe in their return decision. The experiences in the migration context, especially perceived discrimination is a major theme reported by participants as a major cause preventing them to have a strong feeling of belonging to the host county they lived in. Failure to feel belongingness to the immigration context and not feeling connected to host country members are described as major reasons for serious concern for the future of their children. Return is commonly described as a solution not to let their children experience being negatively stereotyped or not to let them experience an unequal social status in the host society. Therefore, the participants maintain the social and economic links with their homeland or parental homeland through summer visits or buying properties like summer houses.

The findings based on the post-return experiences of the return migrants show that their return migration experience is similar to initial migration experience in terms of the personal, emotional, and social difficulties they experienced. The findings expose that acculturative stress and negative emotions accompanying acculturation in regular acculturation studies (Berry, 1997; Ward et al., 2001) also applied to return migration experiences of Turkish migrants. Negative emotions and stress are mostly due to readaptation problems of children especially in the school context, to perceived distance experienced with Turkish people, and due to perceived discrimination in Turkey. The unexpected readaptation problems of the children are very frustrating for the families, especially those who returned to provide their children a feeling of home and belonging that they had always missed in the migration context. The families mostly expect a smoother adaptation for their children before return, as they observed their children were very enthusiastic about the summer visits to Turkey.

It is also remarkable in the narrations of the returnees that after missing old friends, customs, friendship patterns and values, and living with the idealized dreams of home in the host cultures, they are disappointed not to find reunion a pleasant experience. This finding is in line with the findings of earlier studies showing that changes in the conditions in the country of origin create a mismatch between the remigrants' idealized memories and the reality awaiting them at home (Tannenbaum, 2007).

Another frequent theme in the findings is the changes they have gone through, which were are only recognized upon return. The returnees realize that they have adapted to different cultural characteristics of Western culture such as being punctual, direct, or observing the rules of the system, which they see as a reason for the perceived distance with Turkish fellow citizens and also for having difficulties in interacting with them in the return context. Many first generation migrants attempt to start a business or get a position at a company but fail to sustain it as they could no longer fit to the norms and values in the work context in Turkey.

Berry's model provides one of the most relevant frameworks explaining the post return experiences of Turkish return migrants pointing at the personal, emotional, and social difficulties, similar to the features of their first migration experience. However, as mentioned above, as Berry's model was constructed to answer the question of what happens to people in 'one' culture and come to continuous contact with another 'new' culture, it is not adequate to predict the experiences of Turkish return migrants. Therefore, I find it inadequate in capturing the reacculturation conditions, orientations, and outcomes specific to remigration. Differently from the target that Berry's model was constructed for, remigrants are not inclined to get into contact with the mainstreamers of a completely different culture, with different, ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics. The orientations of the remigrants also do not vary that much compared to orientations of migrants in the migration context. Almost all returnees in the Turkish return migration case, show orientations towards integration. Berry's model also is insufficient in providing insight in the acculturation experience of subsequent generations. Moreover, reacculturation conditions, orientations and outcomes differ greatly from the ones the migrants had in their initial migration experience. In terms of reacculturation conditions, although Turkish returnees expect to find a familiar environment where they can meet their need to feel at home and their sense of belonging in Turkey, they are exposed to '*almancı*' stigmatization. In terms of language, the colloquial Turkish they speak to survive in daily in-group life in Western Europe does not suffice to the academic language level that the schools require from the children. The accented speeches of the returnees are also not welcomed by Turkish mainstreamers. The cultural distance experienced with the Turkish mainstreamers due to the change of society, norms, and values also makes return different from the migration experience. Berry's model is exclusively based on the experiences of immigrants in a new ethnic, linguistic, and religious group, where the persons' orientations towards home and host culture identifications predict socio-cultural adaptation or 'fit in' the host culture. Regarding

the Turkish return migrants, who have the same ethnicity, same language, same religion, and so forth with the mainstreamers they still feel that they do not 'fit in' the home country and are treated as 'outsiders' and 'strangers'.

In terms of acculturation orientations, different from the migration process, almost all returnees favor an integration orientation. They find it important to establish good relationships with the Turkish mainstreamers and to keep good ties with their contacts in Western Europe.

The process of return migration is also conceptualized in Sussman's (2010) Cultural Identity Model. For Turkish returnees, the findings show that most of the returnees experience either a subtractive identity shift or an additive identity shift, both of which lead to high levels of stress upon return. Returnees who go through a subtractive identity shift perceive themselves differently from compatriots in the home context, which is accompanied by the feeling of isolation (fitting the descriptions of most respondents). All but one respondent in the study stated that they perceive mainstream Turks in Turkey differently than themselves. Additive identity shift leads the returnees to feel more similar to the host culture identity and upon return they look for opportunities to interact with the previous host culture members. Although this shift is defined by Sussman (2010) as an identity gain, the findings are in line with the statement of Tannenbaum (2007), who states that negative aspects of it should be emphasized more. By most of the respondents in the study, the experience of feeling different and not belonging to 'home' upon return is a more difficult experience than initial migration. Affirmative identity shift, which is characterized by stressing the positive sides of the home culture and ignoring the gaps and differences between home and host culture, predicts low levels of stress upon return. Although according to Sussman (2010, p. 77), the experience of return migration is defined for them as a welcomed relief, the findings highlight that the mismatch between their identities and the ones that are assigned to them in the return context is a major cause of stress even for the respondents who go through an affirmative identity shift. Intercultural identity shift, which is described as a global worldview is the least common pattern, which is also parallel to the claim of Sussman (2010). In the context of Turkish culture, cultural norms are highly rigid and deviations are not appreciated. Besides, it is not common to detach from strong national identity or religious identity, and avoid the need of a strong feeling of belonging.

Sussman's Cultural Identity Model provides valuable insight in terms of explicating identity shifts that the informants go through in the migration context. However, her work provides less information regarding reacculturation conditions, orientations and outcomes. The dynamics of the interactions

between the returnees and majority Turks, the political and institutional factors are also influential in the readaptation period. Moreover, the model also fails to explain the processes for the subsequent generations' experiences.

All in all, the previous models provide us with valuable insight in explicating different dimensions of the Turkish return migration. However, no model is comprehensive or sufficient to elucidate the return migration phenomenon. Therefore, a more comprehensive model that can see the overall picture of return migration as a whole and reflect on the identified differences of return experiences from migration experience is needed. Furthermore, the experiences of subsequent generations need to be reflected more in reacculturation frameworks.

The findings derived from the quantitative data provide us with a broad perspective on the perceptions of Turkish mainstreamers on the issue of remigration. The findings in a way enable us to see the other side of the coin. Originating from the narrations and experiences of Turkish return migrants, which revealed that the return migrants feel excluded in Turkish society, I investigated the attitudes of majority Turkish nationals towards return migrants and return migration issues. The findings reveal that the general attitude of Turkish mainstreamers has three underlying dimensions: positive attitudes on return migrants and reintegration processes, negative attitudes on return migrants and reintegration attitudes, and sources of conflict. The main reasons of conflict between groups stem from failure to abide by normative and behavioral expectations. The socio-cultural and ethnolinguistic related norms expectation of mainstreamers from Turkish returnees such as speaking unaccented Turkish or being more collectivistic are main sources of conflict between groups. The study provided theoretical insight in the dimensions of stereotyping. As Fiske et al. (2002) maintained, there are two dimensions of stereotyping, 'warmth' and 'competence', leading to different emotions, such as pity, envy, admiration, and contempt. In line with the work, my study exposes the convergences and the divergences in the attitudes towards Turkish returnees. For instance, Turkish mainstreamers appreciate the hard work and the difficulties due to split family situations that the migrants tolerated for many years, but at the same time, they see migrants as incompetent in many aspects like integrating in the migration context or raising their children according to Turkish norms and values – the latter might be the ones with more implied mercy. On the other hand, Turkish mainstreamers who have positive opinions about the accomplishments of migrants in the migration context and upon return (e.g., who find that they are very hardworking in the migration context, and provide good opportunities for their children upon return) and who think that

they are not culturally distant and easy to communicate with might be said to hold admiration towards return migrants. The reflections on the connotations of the word '*gurbetçi*' also reveal the convergences and divergences in the attitudes. The findings highlight that the term '*gurbetçi*' reflects the connotations of exclusiveness, inclusiveness, and the emotions of mercy and pity towards Turkish return migrants. The research concludes that the intergroup attitudes are a multi-layered and multifaceted phenomenon and that it is not really possible to explain the underlying reasons of the attitudes and feelings with one single aspect.

6.4 General conclusion

This thesis presented an overview of the literature and three empirical chapters devoted to Turkish return migration. The review brought together the theories of remigration from different disciplines such as economics, sociology, and psychology and documented how each theoretical stream attempts to explicate the motivations and consequences of return. The focal group of the study were traditional immigrants who migrated mostly for economic or sometimes educational reasons rather than the immigrants who are forced from their own countries and 'pushed' (e.g., political refugees) into a new environment. The extensive research in the literature and the findings of the Turkish case led us to draw the conclusion that return migration is a multi-layered phenomenon caused by multiple interrelated factors. It also differs from the migration experience in that contextual conditions such as attitudes of mainstream groups in the remigration country are salient moderators of the reacculturation process.

It was notable in the investigation that most models, which attempted to explicate return migration processes have been borrowed from migration literature. However, the experiences of return migrants are rather different from the ones that traditional migrants have in migration contexts. When I examined the Turkish case and described the characteristics of the return migration phenomenon, I observed that extant theories did not suffice to fully explain motives or consequences of return.

To sum up, the Turkish return migration case shows that remigration is a complicated and multilayered phenomenon having various dimensions. In the Turkish return migration case, the narrations touched on many factors such as the characteristics of both home and host countries, integration levels in the host country, children related issues, the socioeconomic level of the migrants, as well as initial return intentions of the migrants influencing the return decisions and the reintegration processes of return migrants in Turkey. Therefore, a model

identifying and referring to different characteristics of the return migration phenomenon in terms of reacculturation conditions, orientations and outcomes is needed. Although the findings provided us with valuable insight in explicating different dimensions of the Turkish return migration, none of the existing models was found comprehensive or sufficient enough to elucidate return migration. Therefore, a more comprehensive model referring to identified differences of return experiences from migration experience is needed. Furthermore, the experiences of subsequent generations need to be reflected more in reacculturation frameworks.

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Summary

The present dissertation investigated the return migration experiences of Turkish immigrants from different generations returning from Western Europe. Overall, I aimed to provide insight on how and under which conditions return migration takes place and to explicate the post return experiences of return migrants. In particular, the following three research questions were addressed: Why do people return? What are the consequences of return migration? And, what are the perceptions of Turkish mainstreamers towards return migrants in Turkey?

In order to answer these questions, I started with a review of the relevant literature and a discussion about the theories used in return migration studies (Chapter 2). Then, I conducted three empirical studies on various aspects of return migration (Chapters 3, 4, and 5).

Specifically, in Chapter 2, the main goal was to present an overview of the theories in the field of return migration and to discuss extant models from different approaches. More specifically, bringing together the perspectives of several disciplines such as economy, sociology, and psychology, I presented the main theoretical issues, studies and findings in the field of remigration. To specify it more, I focused on the immigrants with a pull incentive (e.g., labor migrants) who migrated mostly for economic or sometimes educational reasons rather than the immigrants who are forced from their own countries and 'pushed' (e.g., political refugees) into a new environment (Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001); and, I addressed the strengths and the weaknesses of the extant models and theories in explaining the causes and the consequences of the remigration experiences of the traditional migrants. The review revealed that although the extant models provided valuable insight in explicating different dimensions of return migration, no model by itself was found comprehensive or sufficient enough to provide a comprehensive picture of return migration. I discussed, based on the existing studies, how remigration differs from the migration experience and stated that contextual conditions such as attitudes of

mainstream groups in the remigration country are salient moderators of the reacculturation process. Therefore, as most models attempting to explicate return migration processes have been borrowed from the migration literature, I concluded that a more encompassing model referring to identified differences of return experiences from migration experience is needed. Furthermore, it was emphasized in the review that the experiences of subsequent generations need to be reflected more in reacculturation frameworks.

In Chapter 3, I investigated the motives for Turkish return migration. More specifically, I explored return migration motivations of different generations of Turkish migrants returning from Germany, the Netherlands, and France. The study was based on the semi-structured face-to-face interviews among 48 remigrants and drew on a qualitative approach and inductive content analysis. The interviews revealed the social, cultural and linguistic issues leading to return decision. It was found that initially determined return ambition, perceived discrimination in the migration context and strong sense of belonging to the country of origin play the most essential roles in return decisions. As participants emotionally and ethnically felt they belonged to Turkey, the home country was commonly idealized and return was longed for during the migration period. The concepts of 'home' and 'belonging' were found to be central for all generations in the return migration. The findings also suggested that motives of the returnees vary substantially across generations and socio-economic status of the informants. Especially for the subsequent generations, perceived discrimination was found to have created a serious concern for the future of their children. Therefore, the results showed that return was commonly an action taken not to let their children experience being negatively stereotyped or not to let them experience an unequal social status in society. Therefore, the study concluded that voluntary return should not be perceived as an individual decision triggered by just one major factor, as it is mostly a consequence of many factors that show considerable individual differences.

In Chapter 4, I examined the consequences of Turkish return migration. More specifically, I aimed to identify the factors influencing the (re)adaptation of Turkish migrants who return from Germany, the Netherlands, and France. The study used semi-structured in depth interviews with 48 returnees and the analysis was based on a qualitative approach and inductive content analysis. The results of the study are discussed within Berry's acculturation model and Sussman's cultural identity model. The interviews revealed the social, cultural, and linguistic issues emerging in the return process and shed light on the factors moderating the reintegration process of Turkish returnees. On the basis of informants' self-reports, I found that perceived discrimination, cultural distance

with mainstream Turks and children-related issues experienced after return were major themes in the returnee's narratives. After longing for old friends, customs, friendship patterns and values, and living with the idealized dreams of home in the host cultures for years, the returnees were disappointed not to find reunion a pleasant experience. The results also revealed that personal, emotional and social re-adaptation difficulties varied substantially across generations and the socioeconomic status of the informants. Further, the migration experiences and the acculturation orientations of the migrants in the countries of immigration played essential roles for a successful re-adaptation period. The findings were discussed within Berry's acculturation model. As Berry's model was designed to explain the experiences of the immigrants who entered into a new ethnic, linguistic and religious group, it was not found to be adequate in predicting the experiences of Turkish return migrants who felt excluded within the same ethnic, linguistic and religious group back at home. The process of return migration was also conceptualized in terms of Sussman's (2010) cultural identity model. Although the framework provided valuable insight in terms of identity changes the immigrants go through, the model was found to be inadequate in explaining the influence of certain factors such as reacculturation conditions (e.g., attitudes of home country citizens) that affect readaptation of return migrants. Further, the model did not provide enough scope for evaluating post-return processes from the perspectives of different generations.

In Chapter 5, I investigated the perceptions of Turkish mainstreamers in Turkey towards Turkish (re)migrants from West European countries. Turkish immigrants, from any of Western European counties, are called '*almancı*' (German-like) upon returning to Turkey and the term has several connotations such as 'culturally distorted', 'nouveau riche' (rich and spoiled) or having lost Turkishness. Therefore, Turkish immigrants who develop migrant identities in Western countries have to negotiate their migrant identities against a backdrop of '*almancı*' identities attributed to them by mainstream Turks in Turkey. Applying the qualitative findings of Chapter 2 and 3 of this thesis, regarding perceived discrimination of return migrants and '*almanci*' stigma, I constructed a questionnaire investigating the underlying dimensions of the '*almanci*' stereotype. I tried to get insight into themes and issues emerging in the cultural contact of (re)migrants with the Turks back in Turkey and explicate the dimensions of the perceived stigmatization of Turkish (re)migrants. Therefore, the study used an original survey instrument (N = 606), in which the items are generated based on the semi-structured interviews with 53 informants (48 return migrants and 5 Turkish mainstreamers). On the basis of the survey results, I developed and validated a model. I discussed the results of the study within the

frameworks of intergroup relations in social psychology and social categorization of the social identity approach (Taijfel, 1981). The findings revealed that perceptions towards return migrants have three different dimensions. The dimensions are positive attitudes on return migrants and reintegration processes, negative attitudes on return migrants and reintegration attitudes and the sources of conflict. The main reasons of conflict between groups were found to stem from failure to abide by normative and behavioral expectations. In particular, ethnolinguistic and sociocultural characteristics related norms and expectations of Turkish mainstreamers, perceived low adaptation skills of immigrants in Western context and finally the traditional orientations of return migrants after their migration experience were found to create conflict between the two groups.

In Chapter 6, I provided a brief summary integrating and discussing the findings of the present study. It pulled together the most important characteristics of Turkish return migration, and highlighted scientific and practical implications of this study. Further, empirical chapters are discussed in relation to the theoretical frameworks and extant models presented in Chapter 2. The findings overall suggested that return migration is a rather multi-causal and multi-layered process. That is, return migration should not be perceived as a decision triggered by just one motive as the decision was mostly taken due to many interrelated reasons. Further, the study highlighted the importance of emotional aspects and ethnic belonging to the home country as well as the influence of socio-political context of immigrated context in return decision. As for the consequences of return migration, it is highlighted that reacculturation conditions, orientations and outcomes differ greatly from the ones the migrants had in their initial migration experience. In particular, cultural distance experienced with mainstreamers, changes of society, norms and values also make return different from migration experience. Finally, this research addressed the need to develop a theoretical model identifying and referring to different characteristics of the return migration phenomenon in terms of reacculturation conditions, orientations and outcomes in return migration literature.

Tilburg Dissertations in Culture Studies

This list includes the doctoral dissertations that through their authors and/or supervisors are related to the Department of Culture Studies at the Tilburg University School of Humanities. The dissertations cover the broad field of contemporary sociocultural change in domains such as language and communication, performing arts, social and spiritual ritualization, media and politics.

1 Sander Bax. *De taak van de schrijver. Het poëticale debat in de Nederlandse literatuur (1968-1985)*. Supervisors: Jaap Goedegebuure and Odile Heynders, 23 May 2007.

2 Tamara van Schilt-Mol. *Differential item functioning en itembias in de cito-eindtoets basisonderwijs. Oorzaken van onbedoelde moeilijkheden in toetsopgaven voor leerlingen van Turkse en Marokkaanse afkomst*. Supervisors: Ton Vallen and Henny Uiterwijk, 20 June 2007.

3 Mustafa Güleç. *Differences in similarities: A comparative study on Turkish language achievement and proficiency in a Dutch migration context*. Supervisors: Guus Extra and Kutlay Yağmur, 25 June 2007.

4 Massimiliano Spotti. *Developing identities: Identity construction in multicultural primary classrooms in The Netherlands and Flanders*. Supervisors: Sjaak Kroon and Guus Extra, 23 November 2007.

5 A. Seza Doğruöz. *Synchronic variation and diachronic change in Dutch Turkish: A corpus based analysis*. Supervisors: Guus Extra and Ad Backus, 12 December 2007.

6 Daan van Bel. *Het verklaren van leesgedrag met een impliciete attitude-meting*. Supervisors: Hugo Verdaasdonk, Helma van Lierop and Mia Stokmans, 28 March 2008.

7 Sharda Roelsma-Somer. *De kwaliteit van Hindoescholen*. Supervisors: Ruben Gowricharn and Sjaak Braster, 17 September 2008.

8 Yonas Mesfun Asfaha. *Literacy acquisition in multilingual Eritrea: A comparative study of reading across languages and scripts*. Supervisors: Sjaak Kroon and Jeanne Kurvers, 4 November 2009.

9 Dong Jie. *The making of migrant identities in Beijing: Scale, discourse, and diversity*. Supervisors: Jan Blommaert and Sjaak Kroon, 4 November 2009.

10 Elma Nap-Kolhoff. *Second language acquisition in early childhood: A longitudinal multiple case study of Turkish-Dutch children*. Supervisors: Guus Extra and Kutlay Yağmur, 12 May 2010.
11 Maria Mos. *Complex lexical items*. Supervisors: Antal van den Bosch, Ad Backus and Anne Vermeer, 12 May 2010.
12 António da Graça. *Etnische zelforganisaties in het integratieproces. Een case study in de Kaapverdische gemeenschap in Rotterdam*. Supervisor: Ruben Gowricharn, 8 October 2010.
13 Kasper Juffermans. *Local languaging: Literacy products and practices in Gambian society*. Supervisors: Jan Blommaert and Sjaak Kroon, 13 October 2010.
14 Marja van Knippenberg. *Nederlands in het middelbaar beroepsonderwijs. Een casestudy in de opleiding Helpende Zorg*. Supervisors: Sjaak Kroon, Ton Vallen and Jeanne Kurvers, 14 December 2010.
15 Coosje van der Pol. *Prentenboeken lezen* als literatuur. *Een structuralistische benadering van het concept 'literaire competentie' voor kleuters*. Supervisor: Helma van Lierop, 17 December 2010.
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